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Art. I. *History of the Great Reformation of the Sixteenth Century in Germany, Switzerland, &c.* By J. H. MERLE D'AUBIGNE, President of the Theological School of Geneva, and Member of the 'Société Evangelique.' Vol. I. London: Werther.

IT has been often and anxiously inquired—is Popery on the increase at present; and is it probable, that it may again be prevalent in England? Our impression is, that whatever may be the right answer to this question, there exists amongst us very little proper feeling on the subject. There is either too much apathy or too much sensitiveness: either the movements of the papal emissaries, and the building of new edifices to maintain and extend the Catholic religion, are regarded with a strange indifference,—from a kind of notion, we believe, that as we have a Protestant ascendancy and an Established Church, we are sufficiently defended against ecclesiastical encroachments by the Lords and Commons, and withal the common sense of the people; or the insidious, incessant, and laborious endeavours of jesuitical missionaries, as they are presumed to act in secret combination with the more palpable displays of official zeal and effort, are looked upon with emotions of terror, approaching in some minds to the fright which spectral illusions create. That we ought not, on the one hand, to be indifferent to facts, is certain; neither, on the other, should we suffer our fears to magnify them into undue importance. They must be dealt with *as facts*; to be considered in their bearings and relations with a calm and philosophic spirit, as well as with a religious attention. That Popery is a great evil—that its doctrines and practices are destructive to the souls of men, cannot be questioned,—in spite of the slightly redeeming considerations, that such men as Pascal and Fenelon have found salvation within the pale of the preeminently anti-christian church; but great evils

have their counteractions and remedies, and whatever may be the severity and length of the conflict, we cannot but believe, that truth, clearly expounded and firmly maintained, must be ultimately victorious. The mighty struggle of the reformation in the days of Luther and his coadjutors is an encouraging lesson in the history of human affairs, and alike teaches us the moral strength of a good cause, and the inherent imbecility of a bad one.

To return, then, to the question—is Popery on the increase? We believe it is. Some of the evidences we have seen or heard on this subject are indubitable; and there is a propagating zeal at work, and long has been at work here and elsewhere; a zeal which has crossed the Atlantic, and for years past has been employing its most vigorous and determined energies to fill the valley of the Mississippi with Roman Catholicism; a zeal which has been and is here directed to the extension of the system by various outward and secret means. The spread of seminaries of instruction, the erection of edifices of worship, the multiplication of priests, and the employment of agents directly in the pay of Rome, with various other efforts, particularly in our manufacturing districts, in large towns, and in the metropolis, are prognostic of a fixed purpose to *Catholicize* our country, and have been attended with some results. Now, that the pomp and pageantry of the Roman Catholic religion should produce an impression upon many minds, even upon the intelligent as well as the ignorant, need not surprise us; for we have seen enough in our day to know that sound will carry even powerful minds to the height of enthusiasm, not only without sense, but in defiance of its plainest dictates and oft repeated remonstrances: the wonder with us is, not that so many (though after all, they are not very many), but that so few should catch the contagion of its false principles, and be deluded by the pretence of its manner and the gorgeousness of its appearance. In the present state of our country the question of increase is rather to be viewed relatively than positively. A positive increase there may be, with a relative diminution. If the Papists can number the building of fifty churches in a year, and the Protestants can point to one, two, or three hundred, the proportion is greatly in favour of Protestantism, and against the probability of the reinstatement of Popery in power, or its very wide and universal diffusion. But the mere multiplication of churches furnishes no decisive evidence; in fact, it is scarcely of the nature of a tangible proof at all. If the Church of Rome, like the Church of England, possesses those pecuniary resources which shall enable her to make a 'fair show in the flesh,' and outvie, out-build, and outshine others, it does not follow that the system is really or much extended, or has taken a deeper root. We must not estimate the progress of that religion, or of any religion, by piles of bricks and mortar; by the pomp of its ritual, or the splen-

dour of its architecture. How are the churches or chapels respectively filled? Here we maintain, that dissent is strong, an endowed Establishment weak, and the Catholic religion still weaker. There is yet another point, namely, the hold that Popery has upon the public feeling; its moral power or feebleness in the nation. By this we are to judge of its advance far more than by any outward demonstrations; precisely as in the former case we judge of the relative force and character of established Protestantism and nonconformity. The latter has a perpetually increasing influence over the masses of the people, high and low; and in the great war of opinion that is waging, is driving the supporters and advocates of a state-paid and state-patronized Christianity, into the forests of perplexing, and to them, inextricable controversy, and the fastnesses (not impregnable however) of parliamentary enactments and authority. At present (and we will not prophecy, nor attempt to unfold the prophetic record in reply to the question whether Popery is again to become supreme in England)—at present, we say, with some outward increase, it has really little power over our British community: and it has so notwithstanding the semi-papal dogmas and loud vociferations of the Oxonians. With an actual outward increase to some extent, partly, however, attributable to the influx of foreigners and of the Irish from our neighbouring isle, and by no means to any proportionable degree from conversions of wandering children to the old mother church of abominations—with such an increase, we ask, where are the evidences of moral strength? Will any man living tell us, that beyond the precincts of a few places, he finds any formidable Roman Catholic tendencies in the towns and villages of our midland districts, or any great frequenting of the Catholic edifices where they are erected? Where do the councils reign? Where is the Pope's infallibility felt? Where are men turned from light to darkness? In some cases we allow a progress; but as compared with the other parties, the apparent increase is but a real diminution.

Notwithstanding this view of the subject, however, we are far from declaring ourselves free from all apprehension; we are far from thinking that the corruption of human nature is not favourable to the growth of Popery; that the activity of its agents is not worthy of being watched; and that the mere outworks of our common Christianity constitute a sufficient safeguard against its returning preeminence. We do not, we confess, feel ourselves sufficiently intrenched behind the parchments of parliament, and the orthodoxy or the matronly protection of a dominant church. It is not in men or measures—not in parliament or steeples—not in kings or princes, that our security lies. It is in personal religion, and in being *more reformed than the reformation*. Some apprehensions have we confess been produced in our minds by cer-

tain recent events. There are ominous symptoms of the progress of error, the foundation of which may be traced back to the Reformation itself.

In our subsequent pages we shall take occasion to show, that we form a high idea of this universally and justly celebrated event, an event upon which writers of every class have expatiated with delight, which constituted a great crisis in human history, and by the glorious light of which we are enabled to interpret some of the most mysterious circumstances in the affairs of mankind. We are nevertheless bold to say, but we say it as advisedly as fearlessly, that in one important respect at least, the Reformation has been over estimated. We charge upon it the sin of omission, a sin which has entailed disastrous consequences, and occasions that facility for the revival of error of which we now complain. Its acts were noble, but its faults were grievous; with all its glory and its triumph there was a radical defect, and a defect which must now be cured before truth and righteousness can spring up before all nations. The reformers had no right conception of the universality of private judgment in matters of religion, of the sin of persecuting opinions, and of the folly and guilt of the alliance between Church and state. Hence they were themselves both persecutors and martyrs. They fought against Popery and established Protestantism; but neither their Protestantism nor ours (speaking nationally) is sufficiently identical with Christianity—that is, with apostolical Christianity. The Oxonians are said to be going back to Rome; the Church of England has never gone entirely from it; Protestantism neither here nor elsewhere has purified itself from the fatal error of the right to impose religion on the consciences of others, or in the softening language of statesmen, to provide a religion for the people. The case of Servetus who was condemned to death by the Council of Geneva, is but a melancholy illustration of the subject, when especially we find Melancthon in writing to Bullinger, eulogizing their conduct as ‘pious and judicious’ towards that ‘obstinate man.’ The fact was, that ‘at that period Christians of every class and party, believed ‘that *gross religious errors were punishable by the civil magistrate*; ‘a Popish doctrine which they had not yet renounced, and which, ‘it is to be feared, is not even to this day, and in the most enlightened part of the world, exterminated from the breasts of all ‘Protestants. By cherishing such a principle they betray the ‘best of causes, furnish occasion for the most injurious representations of Christianity, and instead of proving that they have ‘learned of their Master, who was ‘meek and lowly of heart,’ ‘show that they imitate the misguided disciples who were for calling down fire from heaven. It is surely the birthright of every ‘human being to think for himself: he is amenable alone to conscience and to God for his religious sentiments, and whoever

‘attempts to legislate for the free born soul, and coerce the faith of another, is perpetrating one of the most detestable of crimes; robbing man of his freedom, and God of his authority. In such a case submission to man is treason against heaven. While the reformers, however, in their separation from the Church of Rome, asserted this noble principle, and were daily contending, and even bleeding for it, they notoriously acted in opposition to their own claims, discarding human authority in matters of religion when contending against the Romish hierarchy, and vindicating it in establishing their own church. So inconsistent is human nature! But let Protestants purify themselves from this deep stain upon their characters, by eternally disclaiming, not only in words, but in practice, all dominion over another's faith and conscience.’*

Here, then, was the radical defect of the Reformation. Its promoters sought emancipation from the bondage of Roman Catholic oppression, but they did not seek the emancipation of Christianity itself from the yoke and servitude of human authority. They broke the chain that bound her to Rome; but they did not break the chain that bound her to the state. It was not done in Germany; still less was it done in England; and we live to reap the fruits of an imperfect reform, instead of sharing the glory and the triumph of a perfect freedom.

There is a weed in our fields which in some parts of the country has the name of *twitch* assigned to it; and our farmers inform us it is of so inveterate a character, that it is extremely difficult to eradicate it from the soil; so much so, that if the smallest piece be left it will grow and spread again. It is only by the renewed efforts of agricultural diligence that it can be completely removed. The reformers, those noble cultivators of the moral territory, were not sufficiently informed or practised to clear the ground entirely. They went, indeed, far deeper than the surface, and cut at evil principles with an unsparing hand; still they did not root them up fully, so as to destroy the pernicious vegetation. They successfully resisted the domination of Rome, and spurned the authority of the Pope; but they did not absolutely go down to the root of the principle, so as to exterminate the antisciptural assumptions of ecclesiastical establishments, imposed by princely and sustained by state authority; a portion of this Popish Protestantism was still left in Germany, and a far larger portion in our own country; and it has never ceased to vegetate and to appear in more or less fecundity in our religious communities; and it is to this cause we trace the yet Popish or semi-popish condition of half Europe after the lapse of three centuries, and

* Cox's Life of Melancthon.

the still Popish tendencies of our British Protestant establishment.

Whether Popery is even here to regain the ascendancy or not, we have already stated is not a question that we will undertake to determine,—nor will we offer a conjecture; but of this we feel certain, and shall not hesitate to affirm, that it is not for establishments of religion to achieve the final victory over Popery, nor to offer an effectual resistance to its progress. The conquest is not to be achieved by means of carnal weapons; it is not to be secured by penalties and compulsion; it is not to be won by the sword of secular power and authority. What signifies the battle of one mitre against another; of one episcopal bench against another; of one self-created hierarchy against another: unless God and his eternal truth be highly exalted it will be a fruitless contest at last. There may be a subjugation of evil, but there never can be an extermination of it. Still it will be the conflict of a corrupt church with another only a more corrupt church: but it is the destruction of the corruption alone that can prepare and polish the weapon that will strike through the heart of the King's enemies. The Church of England never can conquer in the argument with the Church of Rome, because that Church still pleads for human authority, whereas the religion of Jesus disclaims it. Till the kingdom of Christ is seen not to be of this world, and till that kingdom is maintained on the immoveable basis of its own exclusive authority, to the utter renunciation of all secular props and adhesions, till Christ is owned and glorified as the only King of Zion, and all human establishments of religion are equally and for ever abandoned, we can have no adequate security against the growth of Popery even in this the present seat and glory of Protestantism.

Incomplete, however, as the Reformation was in the sixteenth century, and great as is the reason we have to deplore the consequences of that incompleteness; let it not be supposed that we are insensible to its real merits, or that we withhold our sympathies from the concurrent admiration of the world. On the contrary, though we have so strongly expressed our regret as well as our reasons for the same, we shall devote the remaining pages of this paper to the pointing out some of the chief benefits that were conferred upon mankind, by that great moral revolution which was accomplished by Luther and his illustrious coadjutors.

1. The Reformation affords an important lesson in the doctrine of a providence. Historians in general, and even those which may be characterized as philosophical historians, have not philosophy enough to deduce this lesson from the facts which they record; or, to say the least, they do not display that moral courage which should lead them to enforce it. They are well aware that it is not in exact accordance with the fastidious pretensions

of a literary taste; nor does it agree altogether with their own. While, however, events are traced with much skill and depth of research to other preceding events and long operating causes in a remote antiquity, and while their connexion with the character of society and the principles of human nature is pointed out, it does appear to us gross, and even monstrous, to overlook the supreme and directly controlling agency of the infinite intelligence. While the sacred volume affirms, that 'not a sparrow falls to the ground without his knowledge,' the pages of secular history are often so written as to invite the conclusion, that the most astonishing movements in society, and the greatest revolutions that occur in the world, are but the results of mighty chances, or the products of human genius, human folly, or human passions. We should like to see a universal history composed upon the express plan and purpose of developing in all the changes that have occurred in the earth the operations of an ever present, ever active, all-working providence. We should like to see the whole storehouse of the Byzantine historians, the vast literary treasures of the Greeks and Romans, with all the more modern collections of our best writers, as well as those of other nations, brought to bear upon this point; that religion might, indeed, be seen in the light in which she ought ever to be regarded, as the presiding genius of history. Then would the Reformation, the Revolution, and other events, whether ecclesiastical or political, be presented in their real aspect; and the mind of the reader be instructed as well as informed.

We must do M. D'Aubigné the justice to say, that he has entered upon his task with a right conception of this subject, as the following extract from his preface will show; and we quote it the rather because it furnishes a fine specimen of his general manner.

'There is a principle of movement emanating from God himself in all the changes among nations. God looks upon that wide stage on which the generations of men successively meet and struggle. He is there, it is One, an invisible God; but if the profaner multitude pass before him without noticing him, because he is a God that hideth himself, thoughtful spirits, and such as feel their need of the principle of their being, seek him with the more earnestness, and are not satisfied till they lie prostrate at his feet. And their search is richly rewarded. For, from the heights to which they are obliged to climb to meet their God, the world's history, instead of offering, as to the ignorant crowd, a confused chaos, appears a majestic temple, which the invisible hand of God erects, and which rises to his glory above the rock of humanity.

'Shall we not acknowledge the hand of God in those great men, or in those mighty nations which arise, come forth, as it were, from the dust of the earth, and give a new impulse, a new form, or a new destiny to human affairs? Shall we not acknowledge his hand in those

heroes who spring up among men at appointed times ; who display activity and energy beyond the ordinary limits of human strength, and around whom individuals and nations gather, as if to a superior and mysterious power ? Who launched them into the expanse of ages, like comets of vast extent and flaming trains, appearing at long intervals, to scatter among the superstitious tribes of men anticipations of plenty and joy—or of calamities and terror ? Who, but God himself ? Alexander would seek his own origin in the abodes of divinity. And in the most irreligious age there is no eminent glory but is seen in some way or other seeking to connect itself with the idea of divine interposition.'

There is a natural or physical influence exerted over the powers and operations of the world of matter, analogous to that moral influence, which we call providence, exerted over the world of mind ; and serving to illustrate our conceptions of it. The mere scientific observer of causes and effects, notes only the repulsions and attractions, the electrical and magnetic agencies, or whatever else may contribute to form the atom or mould the globe into shape, and preserve it in its true position in infinite space ; but if he goes deeper into facts, he will find that none of the physical forces that act in unison with the general law of gravitation, possess a self-originating independence of action. The intensity and the continuance of their respective energies arise out of the exercise of a higher and all-controlling power, checking irregularities, preserving order, and penetrating at his will the whole inanimate creation. This is what philosophers term the law, but which we would rather call the providence of the material world, or providence in nature. It is not true philosophy to rest in the secondaries, but to rise to the primary cause : in the latter case only do we attain the wisdom of knowledge, in the former we are but the abettors of a refined and plausible atheism. Transfer these views to the moral world, and it is only by conceiving that a similar agency of a primary kind operates in controlling the impulses and various movements of the human mind in the production of a given event or series of events, and we arrive at a similar conclusion respecting a moral providence. Ten thousand passions and contrivances are in incessant motion in the human bosom, with its complicated thoughts and motives, and these multiplied ten thousand and ten thousand times in the teeming population of unnumbered countries on the surface of the globe, and during the progress of successive centuries ; and each passion, motive and movement of each mind has its own individual aim, and concurs with or counteracts those of other minds and masses of mankind—so as to be working out particular results that have a greater or less connexion with the general welfare ; yet are all these, while working their own will, working a higher will than their own ; and are held

without, however, disparaging their freedom and responsibility, in the firm, irresistible, all-controlling grasp of an infinite intelligence. Sets and masses of human beings co-operating to produce great events, resemble the systems of the starry heavens that are spread above us. Each great event, like each system, has its collateral, dependant, and concurrent minds and movements, as each system has its subordinate and yet again its secondary orbs revolving in space under the influence of certain laws; as the intellects and passions which concur to the production of some mighty moral change in society are governed by the laws of mind, and the laws of conscience, and the laws of society; and yet in either case all are subordinate to one supreme and governing power, that with perfect and mysterious agency guides and orders the incomprehensible whole. Here, then, we have a moral providence which it is the privilege of the well taught mind to recognize in every event, and especially in the great and magnificent revolutions of history. In such a crisis as the sixteenth century—in the astonishing conjuncture of circumstances—the birth of extraordinary men—the meeting of apparent contingencies—the frustration of schemes apparently well arranged, and the advancement of those which were scarcely formed—in the connexion of things separate, and the separation of things connected—in the compulsion of men into action who were reluctant, and the prevention of those who were forward to act—in the strengthening of the weak, and the weakening of the strong—in the mighty consequences springing from apparent accidents, and in the nothingness resulting from the deepest deliberations—in these and a thousand other instances, are to be discerned the visible, indubitable, and splendid footsteps of Deity.

Among numerous illustrations of these remarks which might be selected from the general history of the Reformation, and the life of Luther in particular, we will just advert to one circumstance. In 1510, or as some state, not till 1511 or 1512, his order sent Luther to Rome; as it is conjectured on account of some internal dissensions. This commission might have been entrusted to another; but whoever reads history with a pious and reflecting mind will see why it was entrusted to him. This dispensation of divine providence, for such it evidently was, as M. D'Aubigné observes, was necessary to Luther. It was fit that he should know what Rome was. Full of the prejudices and illusions of the cloister, he had always pictured it to himself as the seat of holiness. Although at the time he could form no conception of the part he was to act in the great drama of ecclesiastical affairs, there was one who sat in the circle of the heavens who knew it well. He contemplated the whole scene of a yet undisclosed futurity, and evidently designed *this apparently casual appointment as an essential preparation for his work*. What the

Reformer beheld he never could forget; nor could he, with his ardent mind and settled purpose, fail to make the best use of his personal observation and experience.

On his way he was entertained at a wealthy convent of the Benedictines, situate on the Po, in Lombardy. He was astonished at the magnificence and luxury that reigned around. On Friday the table was loaded with abundance. 'The church,' said he, 'and the Pope forbid such things.' This uncourtliness was by no means gratifying; and the porter hinted to him that he incurred danger by his stay. He accordingly retired, with far other expectations of Rome itself. At the very sight of the city he cast himself on the ground, exclaiming, 'Holy Rome, I salute thee!' Ignorance and dissoluteness of morals every where presented themselves to his view; yet was he not easy to be disenchanted from his illusions. He visited all the churches and chapels, fully credited the marvellous stories imposed upon him as the verities of heaven, and delighted himself with performing so many acts of devotion, of which his friends at home were debarred. Luther said mass several times, but he was inexpressibly afflicted at the profanity of the clergy. The priests, however, laughed at his simplicity. On one occasion, when he was officiating, he found that at the altar they had read seven masses while he was repeating one. 'Quick! quick!' said one of the priests, 'send *our Lady* her son back speedily'—alluding to the transubstantiation of the bread into the body and blood of Christ. Another time Luther had advanced only as far as the gospel, when the priest at his side had finished the mass—'Make haste, make haste;' he said, 'do have done with it.'

His surprise was still greater when he found the same corruption in the dignitaries of the church as he had observed in the inferior clergy. His office of envoy from the Augustines introduced him to several meetings of distinguished ecclesiastics. He found them guilty of the grossest buffoonery; and he heard them relate among other things, how, when saying mass at the altar, instead of the sacramental words which were to transform the elements into the body and blood of the Saviour, they pronounced over the bread and wine these sarcastic words: 'Bread thou art, and bread thou shalt remain; wine thou art, and wine thou shalt remain.' 'Then,' continued they, 'we elevate the pyx, and all the people worship.' His reflection was natural, while he felt unspeakably shocked—'I was a serious and pious young monk; such language deeply grieved me. If at Rome they speak thus openly at table, thought I, what if their actions should correspond with their words, and popes, cardinals, and courtiers should thus say mass! And I, who have so often heard them say it so devoutly, how, in that case, must I have been deceived!' 'It is incredible,' says he, in his *Table Talk*, 'what sins and atrocities

'are committed in Rome.' Again, 'They must be seen and heard to be believed. So that it is usual to say: 'if there be a hell, Rome is built above it; it is an abyss from whence all sins proceed.' Luther, in later life, was deeply impressed with the importance of this journey to him. 'If any one would give me,' he said, 'a hundred thousand florins, I would not have missed seeing Rome.'

It is further worthy of remark, that God often produces the most admirable and important results from insignificant and unpromising beginnings. This principle is continually developing itself in the operations of nature, and affords an illustration of the methods of the supreme administration of government in providence. This is remarkably apparent in the history of the German reformation. In numberless other instances, as strikingly so in that of Luther, the element of a single thought in an individual mind is made to mould into form and stimulate into action a series of means and efforts, that shall issue in the salvation of innumerable souls, and by its combinations diffuse an ever augmenting influence to distant ages. It is observable, that God has connected the greatest events in the history of the church and of the world, with circumstances the most apparently trifling or accidental; or with men of obscure parentage, and perhaps moderate, at least not extraordinary genius. The origination of the most noble and astonishing undertakings is generally traceable to one, or to a very few persons; and that the glory may be given to the great Supreme alone—that his power and goodness may be seen in the germ of the work and its subsequent expansion, the one originator or those few devisers of a vast undertaking, shall not be endowed with the nobility of earthly greatness and influence, or with the intellectual grandeur for which many are distinguished. It is true, that the latter endowment must be conceded to Luther; but it was not the power that at first, or for a long period, worked. It was brought into action at length, when required; but at first he was led by the strong hand of an irresistible guidance whither he would not; and compelled, as it were, unwittingly along a glorious career, which at every step displayed his then moral weakness, and the mightiness of God.

Never, perhaps, was there a more striking display of what the noble and the mighty could *not* do, or of what God did not choose to do by such instrumentality, than that which occurred at the great ecclesiastical conclave of Constance. Innumerable cardinals, archbishops, and bishops, nearly 2000 doctors of divinity and priests, the emperor with an immense retinue, several electors and ambassadors from all nations, and representatives of the University of Paris, were assembled at a general call for the reform of the church. A commission was named for the purpose, consisting of deputies from different nations, and the council was unanimous.

The cardinals took an oath that whoever among them might be elected Pope, should not dissolve the assembly, nor leave Constance before the desired reformation was accomplished. Otho de Colonna was elected under the name of Martin V. The moment had now arrived when, with emotions of the intensest interest, the princes, prelates, and representatives of nations awaited the result; and what was it—a reformation? No; a denial—a mockery! As Martin V. placed the tiara on his head he exclaimed, *the Council is at an end*; and thus closed, in silence or fruitless reproaches, the sanguine hope of reform!

Luther was sent to the school of the Franciscans at Magdeberg, and cast upon the world at the age of fourteen. In his play hours he and other children as poor as himself, begged their bread with difficulty; and when pressed with hunger they were accustomed to sing in the streets to obtain food; often obtaining instead, the severe reproaches of the wealthy and the parsimonious. Ursula, however, the wife of Conrad Cotta, before whose door he stood, heard these harsh words, pitied the poor scholar, and became his ministering angel. He was taken into the family, and the first gleam of sunshine broke upon his path: it was—and will any one doubt it?—a light from heaven. That his own sentiments were in accordance with those which we have expressed, is evident from the description subsequently given by him of his earlier struggles.

‘ I began this affair with great fear and trembling. What was I at that time? a poor, wretched, contemptible friar, more like a corpse than a man, (*cadaveri corpori quam homini*). Who was I to oppose the Pope’s majesty, before which not only the kings of the earth and the whole world trembled, but also, if I may so speak, heaven and hell were constrained to obey the slightest intimation of his will? No one can know what I suffered those first two years, and in what dejection, I might say in what despair, I was often plunged. Those proud spirits who afterwards attacked the Pope with such boldness, can form no idea of my sufferings; though, with all their skill, they could have done him no injury, if Christ had not inflicted upon him, through me, his weak and unworthy instrument, a wound from which he will never recover. But whilst they were satisfied to look on, and leave me to face the danger alone, I was not so happy, so calm, or so sure of success; for I did not then know many things which now, thanks be to God, I do know. There were, it is true, many pious Christians who were much pleased with my propositions, and thought highly of them. But I was not able to recognize these, or look upon them as inspired by the Holy Ghost; I only looked to the pope, the cardinals, the bishops, the theologians, the jurisconsults, the monks, the priests. It was from thence I expected the Spirit to breathe. However, after having triumphed, by means of the Scriptures, over all opposing arguments, I at last overcame, by the grace of Christ, with much anguish, labor,

and great difficulty, the only argument that still stopped me, namely, 'that I must hear the church;' for from my heart I honoured the church of the Pope, as the true church, and I did so with more sincerity and veneration than those disgraceful and infamous corrupters of the church who, to oppose me, now so much extol it. If I had despised the Pope, as those persons do in their hearts who praise him so much with their lips, I should have feared that the earth would open at that instant, and swallow me up alive, like Korah and his company.*

2. The Reformation not only gave a severe blow to the despotism of ecclesiastical authority and the power of superstition, but eminently promoted the interests of general literature, created a thirst for knowledge, and gave a mighty impulse to the improvement of mankind. The world had been covered with the thick darkness of the middle ages; a darkness which had sprung from the very bosom of the church, and not only obscured every object, but enfeebled every power of the human mind. During the reign of ignorance, and the long night of religious estrangement from the principles and practices of primitive times, we witness the absolute prostration of man as an intellectual being; thus giving us a most instructive insight into the degrading and vitiating character of error, in contrast with the expanding, elevating, and ennobling effects of truth, embodied in the form of a revived and purified Christianity. The departure from the primitive simplicity of the gospel, which commenced at an early period, was evidently attended with a proportionate contraction of the mind, and as religion rose in pomp it sunk in glory. When Christianity sat in the lowly dwelling of poverty, or by the way side, visible only in the purity, meek-spiritedness, and benevolence which imparted a heavenly character to her professors, and audible only in the songs she uttered to Christ, and the beseeching she addressed to men to be reconciled to God, her superiority both of moral and mental character to the worldly elements around was strikingly conspicuous; but from the moment she was compelled to preside over a corrupt hierarchy, and to clothe herself in the imperial purple—from the moment she was to be seen only in the palace of worldly sovereignty, and heard only in the decrees and anathemas of a self-seeking, plausible, combining, mitred, and carnal priesthood, the mind of man became stagnant, his heart grew cold, and his powers of thought and moral progress were paralyzed.

For a long period, however, there had been counterworking tendencies, and occasional exhibitions of character, that proved

* Luth. Op. lat. I.

the existence of some mental movement, and some germ of moral renovation. As the sixteenth century approached, there were certain indications of a great crisis, or rather perhaps we should say, certain preparations for it in the condition of society. There was an incipient improvement which increased on the revival of letters, by the conveyance of Greek literature into Italy through the Constantinopolitan refugees; and the Reformation both took and transmitted the impression. The revival of letters, of science, and of the arts, was not, as has been truly stated, the moving principle of the reformation; but the two great revivals, that is, of literature and of religion, reciprocally influenced each other. It is probable, that had there been no revival of religion, the revival of literature would have exerted but a feeble influence on the character of mankind—and that influence would have possessed but small moral power; but had there been no revival, that is, no antecedent or accessary revival of literature, the revival of religion would have occurred in all the energy of a moral revolution. The reason is, that literature and science belong to the higher regions of intellect, and spread their first and slow illuminations there, and besides mere intellect is active without any of the concurring affections of the heart; but religion has its seat in the soul, takes possession of the passions, and appeals not so much to the temporal welfare as to the eternal destiny of man. The reformation of religion, therefore, was an event that essentially belonged to the great mass of the people,—to their dearest hopes, their social sympathies, and their lowliest dwelling-places. Literature, however, aided and abetted the triumphs of religion, but the Reformation gave to that a new impulse, and with it spread all concomitant and beneficial influences. The Reformers being fully convinced, that ignorance had been a principal cause of the corruption of doctrine, were solicitous of seeing philosophy restored to its purity and truth to her throne. By the cultivation of learning they were especially enabled to encounter their public adversaries, and to throw a light upon the neglected regions of biblical criticism. The Romish church had resisted the study of the Oriental and other languages, and dictated the faith of others, not on the ground of reason, truth, and a just interpretation of the oracles of divine wisdom, but solely on the authority of the popes and the councils. To attack this system required the knowledge of languages, of criticism, and of sacred and profane antiquities. Melancthon promoted the study of Greek literature, as essential to the knowledge of the New Testament and the Septuagint version, and the reforming spirit diffused itself beyond the reformers. Erasmus, Ludovicus, Vives, Faber, and Nizolius censured the scholastic method of philosophizing, inveighed against the prevalent corruptions, and assiduously cultivated general literature, though these were Roman Catholics; and those who came into immediate

collision with the reformers found it necessary to arm themselves with all the knowledge they could acquire. Thus were its interests promoted, and with them, by that general enlightenment and expansion of the human mind which ensued, the interests of science and art, and whatever else in the growth and improvement of society constitutes its glory.

The beneficial influences of the Reformation were wonderfully extended by the discovery of the art of printing. By this happy invention facilities were afforded for the multiplication of the writings of the Reformers as well as other important works, both literary and theological, which could not otherwise have existed. The language of truth thus uttered by a single voice, was made to resound throughout Europe as in a thousand echoes; and statements or publications which could neither have been circulated widely nor preserved in a permanent form, were made extensively known in the age of their production, impressed the public mind by their diffusion to a degree otherwise impracticable, and transmitted to other nations and distant times. Previously the wealthy and the learned only had access to books, but now the common people were enabled to procure and study them; and thus to examine for themselves doctrines or facts which before they were required implicitly to receive from the lips of ignorant pedants, learned sophists, or designing priests. Thus literature aided the conquests of religion, and religion placed literature in her triumphal car.

3. One of the great blessings of the Reformation consisted in promoting the spirit of discussion, calling into existence, as we may truly say, public opinion, shaking human confidence in the infallibility of Rome, and thus emancipating the mind from the thralldom of unconditional subjection to ecclesiastical and secular domination. This it accomplished, although, as has been before intimated, it did not proceed *far enough*. But whatever reason we may have to lament over what was not done, our gratitude is due to the master spirits of the sixteenth century for what in combination with the Monk of Wittenburg, they did achieve. This great fact was at the very commencement of the enterprize brought to light, that the see of Rome *might be opposed*, and opposed successfully; and in the progress of the struggle it became apparent, that the anti-christian hierarchy, with all its fierce edicts and persecuting agents, did not possess the moral power to enforce its authority and perpetuate its usurpation. It was, to be sure, a most shocking, a most awful, and a most damnable heresy, to call in question the Pope's right to dictate the faith of others, to place his sphere of spiritual jurisdiction *below* the word of God, and even to doubt his supremacy in Christendom. It was of course a mighty folly, and a mighty hazard for one man,—and he obscure and mean—to follow out the convictions of his own mind,

to set himself in insignificant hostility against the decisions of councils, and the decrees of the popes, and to bring down upon his ill-fated head the thunders of the Vatican;—it was a mighty folly to use his reason, to dispute where he should have submitted, and to write tracts and treatises when a dutiful son should have been silent at least about his holy mother! Nevertheless it was done by him, and in the spirit of an unwonted defiance; till others united to assist his efforts or shield his person, error trembled, Germany was roused to thought and freedom, and truth spread like the morning light.

In an age of so much greater refinement, general knowledge, and Christian liberty, as is that—thanks be to these early movements—in which we live, it is not easy to realize the hold which the absurdest dogmas and the grossest puerilities had, at that period, upon mankind. We can scarcely appreciate the circumstances when it was so difficult to think and so dangerous to stir; and when to gain the least portion of religious liberty required days of toil and nights of anxiety, and was of the nature of a splendid but a hard earned victory. The power to be resisted was most formidable, its agents numerous, clamorous, and determined; while, on the other hand, Luther had long to contend single-handed against, as he expresses it, ‘the whole popedom;’ and even when there was something like a confederacy and co-operation, the advocates of reform were at first a small and feeble band, till God touched the hearts of princes, and sowed the seeds of a moral renovation in different classes, and among various nations. It is at once most amusing and instructive now to retrace the origin and the early struggles of the noble-minded and lion-hearted ‘brother Martin;’ and we shall introduce one extract from our author which will illustrate the statement we have made, and give an insight into the spirit of the times. Luther was ordered in 1518, to appear before the Pope’s legate, Cardinal de Vio, or Cajetan, at Augsburg. The latter had determined to assume the tone of a kind and compassionate father towards an erring child, and proceeded to state what he expected from him.

‘Here,’ said he, ‘are three articles which, acting under the direction of our most holy father, Pope Leo the Tenth, I am to propose to you: first, you must return to your duty; you must acknowledge your faults and retract your errors, your propositions and sermons. Secondly, you must promise to abstain for the future from propagating your opinions. And, thirdly, you must be more discreet, and avoid every thing that may grieve or disturb the church.’

‘*Luther.* ‘Most worthy father, I request to be permitted to see the Pope’s brief, by virtue of which you have received full power to negotiate this affair.’

Sierra Longa, and the rest of the Italians of the Cardinal’s

train, were struck with astonishment at such a demand, and although the German monk had already appeared to them a strange phenomenon, they were completely disconcerted at so bold a speech. Christians, imbued with the principles of justice, desire to see them adhered to in proceedings against others or themselves ; but those who act according to their own will are always much surprised when required to proceed regularly and agreeably to form and law.

‘ *De Vio*. ‘ Your demand, my son, cannot be complied with. You have to acknowledge your errors ; to be careful for the future what you teach ; not to turn to your vomit ; so that we may rest without care and anxiety ; and then, acting by the command and on the authority of our most holy father the Pope, I will settle the whole affair.’

‘ *Luther*. ‘ Deign, then, to inform me wherein I have erred.’

At this request, the Italian courtiers, who had expected to see the poor German fall upon his knees and implore mercy, were still more astonished than before. Not one of them could have condescended to answer so impertinent a question. But *De Vio*, who thought it scarcely generous to crush this wretched monk by the weight of his power and authority, and trusted moreover to his own learning to obtain an easy victory, consented to tell *Luther* what he was accused of, and even to enter into discussion with him. We must do justice to the general of the Dominicans. It must be acknowledged, that he showed more equity, a greater sense of propriety, and less irritation than have subsequently been exhibited in the majority of similar cases. He assumed a tone of fatherly condescension, and said :

‘ My beloved son ! There are two propositions put forward by you, which you must, above all, retract :—first, the treasure of indulgences does not consist of the merits and sufferings of our Lord Jesus Christ : secondly, the man who receives the holy sacrament must have faith in the grace offered to him.’

Both these propositions did, indeed, strike a death-blow at the commerce of Rome. If the Pope had not power to dispose at will of the Saviour's merits,—if, on receiving the paper in which the brokers of the church traded, men did not acquire a portion of that infinite righteousness,—this paper currency lost its value, and men would count it no better than a mere rag. And thus also with the sacraments. The indulgences were, in some sense, an extraordinary branch of commerce with Rome ; the sacraments were made part of her ordinary traffic. The income they produced was by no means small. But to assert that faith was necessary to make them productive of any real benefit to the soul of the Chris-

tian, was to ruin the whole concern. For faith is not in the Pope's gift; it is beyond his power, and can come from God alone. To declare its necessity was, therefore, to snatch from the hands of Rome both the speculation and the profits attached to it. In attacking these two doctrines, Luther had followed the example of Christ himself. In the very beginning of his ministry, he had overturned the tables of the money-changers, and driven the dealers out of the temple. 'Make not my Father's house a house of merchandize.'

Cajetan continued:—

'I will not bring forward the authority of St. Thomas, and the other scholastic doctors, to refute these errors: I will rest entirely on the holy Scriptures, and speak to you in perfect friendship.'

Nevertheless, when De Vio began to bring forward his proofs, he quoted only St. Thomas, the scholastics, and their opinions.* He combatted Luther's first proposition by an *Extravagance* or *Constitution* of Pope Clement; and the second by all sorts of opinions from the scholastic divines. The discussion turned at its outset upon this Constitution of the Pope in favour of indulgences. At last Luther, indignant at seeing what authority the Legate attributed to a decree of Rome, exclaimed:

'I cannot receive such constitutions as sufficient proof on subjects so important. For they wrest the holy Scriptures, and never quote them to the purpose.'

'*De Vio.* 'The Pope has authority and power over all things.'

'*Luther.* (warmly) 'Save the Scriptures.'

'*De Vio.* (in derision) 'Save the Scriptures! Do you know that the Pope is greater than the Councils, for he has recently condemned and punished the Council of Bâle.'

'*Luther.* 'But the University of Paris has appealed against his decision.'

'*De Vio.* 'Those gentlemen of Paris will receive their desert.''

The Cardinal and Luther then proceeded to discuss the second article, namely, the *faith* that Luther declared to be necessary to render the sacraments efficacious. Luther, pursuing his usual method, quoted, in favour of the opinion that he maintained, several passages of Scripture. But the Legate received them with derision—'It is of faith in general that you are speaking now,' said he. 'Not so,' replied Luther. One of the Italians, the Legate's master of the ceremonies, provoked at Luther's resistance and answers, was burning with desire to speak. He

* L. Opp. (L.), 17 p. 180.

often attempted to interrupt the conversation; but the Legate commanded silence. At last he was obliged to reprove him in so authoritative a tone, that the master of the ceremonies left the room in confusion.*

‘As to indulgence,’ said Luther to the Legate, ‘if you can prove to me that I am mistaken, I am ready to receive instruction. We may leave that subject open without compromising our faith as Christians. But as to that other article concerning *faith*, if I yielded any thing there, I should be denying Christ. I cannot, therefore, and I will not yield that point, and, by God’s help, I will hold to it to the end.’

‘*De Vio*. (beginning to lose temper) ‘Whether you will or will not, you *must* this very day retract that article, or else, for that article alone, I will proceed to reject and condemn all your doctrines.’

‘*Luther*. ‘I have no will but the Lord’s. He will do with me what seemeth good in his sight. But had I a hundred heads, I would rather lose them all than retract the testimony I have borne to the holy Christian faith.’

‘*De Vio*. ‘I am not here to argue with you. Retract or prepare to endure the punishment you have deserved.’†

‘Luther clearly perceived it was impossible to end the affair by a conference. His adversary was seated before him in the place of the Pope, and required a humble submission to all that he said to him, whilst Luther’s answers, even when grounded on the Holy Scriptures, were received with shrugs, noise, laughter, and ridicule. He thought the most prudent plan would be to answer the Cardinal in writing. This means, he thought, offered at least one consolation to the oppressed. Others might then give their judgment of the affair; and the unjust adversary who, by clamour, remained master of the field, might be overawed by the public voice.’—*D'Aubigné*, pp. 435—440.

This was a great point. Before the Reformation there was in reality no public opinion, unless the opinion of the church, and that the most corrupt that could be, were so designated. Well might Erasmus have talked about the ‘squabbles of monks,’ for nothing better, and of no higher aim must the most important theological inquiries and discussions have appeared both to the learned world and the dominant hierarchy. In an age when to one man was accorded the supremacy of the universal church, who, if not by his own single and independent decision was deemed infallible,—though this was generally received as good Catholic doctrine,—yet at least as the unerring voice and expression of the body of traditions and councils, to whom princes as well as schoolmen and theologians, bowed with reverential awe,—what could private judgment effect, or where could it be entertained, or how, whether individually or conjointly, could it

* *L. Opp. (L.)*, 17 p. 180. † *L. Opp. (L.)* 17, pp. 180, 183, 206, &c.

find vent and utterance? 'The Pope has decreed,' or 'the church has determined,' was the answer to every question, and it was the final one. Against it there was no appeal, and there could be none. There was no other tribunal; no other inspiration; and it was deemed madness to oppose it. But Luther uttered that other voice, and erected that other tribunal. This was the first great step in the world's amelioration, to appeal from authority to opinion, from men to things, from the mysterious and inexplicable personage called the church, administering its theological idealism through the Pope,—to the real, tangible, responsibility of a man's own conscience, enlightened by the beamings forth of celestial truth.

4. The great doctrinal achievement of the Reformation consisted in the establishment of the real ground of justification before God. The Popish church abounded with ideas of human merit and works of supererogation. The public discourses of the preachers universally consisted of fabulous tales, reports of miracles, scholastic subtleties, the merits of saints, and of the Virgin Mary, the virtue of relics, the duty of endowing churches, the utility of indulgences, and the necessity of obedience to the decisions of holy mother church. The Papists say of the meritoriousness of our works of supererogation, that they go into the treasury of the church, and make up a public stock of merit, to be disposed and dealt out by the Pope at his discretion. Hence arose the contest about indulgences, which led on the part of Luther to the more full development of the essentials of Christian doctrine. After he became enlightened on the subject of justification by faith without works, he proclaimed it with incessant zeal, and wrote upon it, in his Commentary on the Galatians, with a clearness and a force which tended to the emancipation of this truth from that bondage of corrupt and superstitious sentiment which from time immemorial had been accumulated upon it. Milner truly remarks,* 'The doctrine of justification, in its explicit form, had been lost for many ages to the Christian world. 'If men had really believed, that by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ salvation was obtained, and that God 'justifies the ungodly' through faith alone, how could they have been imposed upon by the traffic of indulgences? In whatever manner the Papist might subtilize and divide, he was compelled by his system to hold, that by a compliance with the rules of the church, either in the way of indulgences, or by some severer mode, pardon was to be obtained; and that the satisfaction of Christ was not sufficiently meritorious for this end; in other words, that the gift of God is not eternal life by Jesus Christ our Lord. And, in

* Hist. of the Church of Christ, Vol. iv. p. 308.

‘fact, the preacher of indulgences, whether popes themselves or their ministers, held out to themselves with sufficient clearness, that the inheritance of eternal life was to be purchased by indulgences.’

Luther calls the article of justification ‘*the only solid rock*, as being the doctrine which shows how we are redeemed from sin, death, and the devil, and how we become partakers of eternal life—not by our own works, but by the help of another, the only begotten Son of God, Jesus Christ.’ Again, ‘To this moment the Papists continue to insist on the efficacy of works, and the worthiness of man, in direct opposition to the doctrine of salvation by grace; and thus do they, in words at least, support their brethren the anabaptists. For these foxes are tied together by the tails, though, judging by their heads, one might suppose them opposite to each other. Outwardly the Papists pretend to be great enemies of the anabaptists, when inwardly and at bottom, they teach, think, and defend all one thing against our Saviour Christ, who is our only righteousness. Let him, therefore, who can, hold fast to this one article of *justification*. And as to those who have made shipwreck of their faith, we must let them be carried whither the sea and wind shall drive them, until they either return to the ship, or swim to the shore.’ This is from the preface to the Commentary on the Galatians; what follows is from the Commentary itself. ‘To teach the doctrine of justification by faith without works, and at the same time to insist on the necessity of good works, it must be owned, is a matter of considerable difficulty and danger. For unless the ministers of Christ be wise and faithful dispensers of the divine mysteries, and know how to divide the word of truth rightly, the distinct provinces of faith and works will be confounded. Both these provinces should be explained and impressed on the mind with the greatest diligence, yet in such a manner, that each of them may preserve its proper bounds. Otherwise, if works only are taught, as is the case in the Pope’s kingdom, faith is lost. Again, if nothing but faith is inculcated, carnal men soon begin to dream that there is no need of good works. How careful is Paul to avoid being misunderstood! In the fourteenth verse of the fifth chapter he had observed, that the whole law was fulfilled in one word—‘Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.’ Indeed! an objector might say,—Then if so, a man by works of charity, may fulfil the law, and be justified! which is contrary to the whole epistle. ‘No,’ says the apostle, I have neither forgotten, nor do I now contradict my former argumentation concerning faith. I am precisely of the same opinion; and that ye may perceive me to argue consistently, I add, Walk in the Spirit, and ye shall not fulfil the lusts of the flesh. I do not mean that ye can be justified by

‘the law; but this I mean, there are two principles of action within you, Flesh and Spirit; and I exhort you to obey the latter, that ye may be enabled to resist the former. It is but to a certain degree that ye can resist it; ye cannot entirely put off the flesh, or kill it; and, therefore, when I direct you to walk in the Spirit, I sufficiently indicate to you the impossibility of your being justified by works of charity.’

The Reformation is full of interest as an historical event, but we must not overlook its real importance. The transactions which belong to it are sufficiently entertaining to the most general reader who traces the progress of the conflict in which the theological belligerents were engaged, but we must look beyond them. The curious fact, indeed, presents itself to view of an insignificant monk daring to oppose the omnipotence of Catholic Rome; and instead of being instantly crushed, as might have been expected, succeeding after a series of extraordinary struggles in the establishment of a separate and independent church in the very heart of Christendom. A succession of singular conjunctures and adventures is brought under review, which have enlivened the pages of the historian, and attracted the admiration of the world. It is not, however, the victory of Luther over Rome, or of the confederacy of Protestant princes over the despotism and the dogmatism of a well compacted hierarchy, however worthy of celebration those events may be in themselves, that constitutes the chief glory of those remarkable times; *the real triumph of the Reformation* consisted in the rescue of the doctrine of justification by faith from the superstitious incrustations with which it had become enveloped, and the consequent oblivion into which it had fallen. This doctrine is fundamental to Christianity, and, therefore, the clear elucidation and prominent exhibition of it, after having been lost amidst the ignorance of ages, not only constituted Luther a great man, but the Reformation a great event. If nothing else had been accomplished, this would have been a noble result, and deserving of all the zeal and devotedness that have stamped so illustrious a character upon that bright and benignant era. For what question can be equally important with that which relates to the possibility and the ground of our acceptance with God; what so essential to our happiness as to ascertain, whether our own works can recommend us in whole or in part to the divine favour, or whether the righteousness of another—an appointed and accepted sacrifice—be alone meritorious and available. If we commit a mistake with regard to the foundation of our hope towards God, and rely upon an unauthorized, unadmitted basis of dependance, all is lost, and as the Scripture says, ‘there remaineth no more sacrifice for sin;’ but if with deep humility—with a confiding and self-renouncing faith, we seek justification through Christ alone; then as Luther showed, and as

the sacred writings declare, eternal life is secure. The beneficial effect of this truth is twofold, namely, to induce a rejection of erroneous and traditionary observances under the name of good works, and to dispose to every Christian duty, upon the principle—not of meriting a reward, but of fulfilling an obligation. The practical bearing of the doctrine in question is evident from the fact, that as it became obscured and forgotten, morals declined. Faith is the essential element of that renovated character which in Scripture is called the ‘new man;’ and the moment it disposes the heart to the reception of the righteousness ‘wrought out’ for man, produces a corresponding solicitude for a holiness that shall attest the principles as wrought *in* him, and capable of producing the external fruits of piety. The instructive spectacle presented itself just before the Reformation of evangelical doctrine and moral virtue lying dead and buried together.

Luther has been vehemently denounced by the Catholic writers on account of his alleged disparagement and even utter rejection of the epistle of James, because of its apparent disagreement with that of Paul on the doctrine of justification by faith. Whatever blame may be attributable to the Reformer, the strength and blindness of party prejudice may be plainly seen in their accusation. The words, for instance, of Campian are—‘*Quid Luthero (causæ fuit) ut epistolam Jacobi contentiosam, tumidam, aridam, stramineam, flagitiosus apostata nominaret, et indignam spiritu censeret Apostolico? Desperatio.*’ The wary and clever writer of the ‘Variations,’ M. Bossuet, is, however, more measured in his phraseology, stating that ‘the bold Reformer retrenched from the canon of the Scriptures whatever did not agree with his notions; and it is on occasion of this that he writes in the ‘Captivity of Babylon, without any testimony of antiquity that this epistle does not seem to be St. James’s, nor worthy of the apostolic spirit.’ Now it appears, that when the first accuser was expressly furnished with Luther’s works for the purpose of sustaining his charge, he found only this expression—‘*Some affirm that the epistle of St. James is not worthy of the apostolical spirit.*’ Whitaker wrote in the severest terms against Campian, for his false censures, but with great candour afterwards stated, that after a most diligent search he at length discovered in a preface, written by Luther, to an old German Testament, these words—‘The epistle of St. James is by no means of equal dignity with the epistles of Peter and Paul, but is an epistle of straw if compared with them.’ To this he adds, ‘This opinion of his I do not approve, and as these words are omitted in later editions, I am of opinion that Luther himself disapproved of it. However, a candid reader will, I doubt not, easily discern that there is a wide difference between what Luther wrote and what is objected to him by Campian; for it is one thing to use an

'expression absolutely and simply, and another to apply it by comparison. Luther, says Campian, calls the epistle of St. James an epistle of straw, but Luther himself says that it is an epistle of straw in comparison of those of Peter and Paul.' This we conceive to be fair and conclusive: nor can we admit M. Bayle's representation.* 'After all,' says he, 'since it cannot be denied but that the *straminea* subsists, it is probable that Campian's whole passage was in some ancient preface; for in reality the other epithets are not more, nor indeed so injurious as this.' This is surely a broad admission without the evidence that any controversialist, or in fact, any reasonable man would require. Nor can we readily assent to the proposition which he subjoins, that 'whoever says that St. James's is an epistle of straw in comparison of St. Paul's,' really says, 'that it is not canonical, or the production of an inspired writer.' It would be easy to show on many grounds, that one book or portion of Scripture is more important or more interesting than another, without impeaching its credibility and disowning its inspiration. Besides, in the present case, in estimating any particular expression of Luther's which may be deemed,—and we concur in thinking the imputed expression, if he wrote it, extremely objectionable, it is necessary to take into consideration the character of the man, and the spirit of the times. His were the faults of a noble mind. He always saw things in the strongest light, and put them forth with those rhetorical exaggerations which are characteristic of an ardent spirit, and a natural irritability roused into perpetual action by opposition. Perhaps, with many distinguished men of antiquity (which is the fact notwithstanding what Bossuet has intimated), he originally questioned the authenticity of the epistle of James; but still more it is likely that he was stimulated to the use of intemperate expressions, and an invidious comparison of the apostolic writers, by supposing there existed a discrepancy on the subject of his favourite theme, which he could not satisfactorily unravel.

Having thus adverted to this topic, it may be proper to subjoin an explanation, which may assist some minds, even yet perplexed on the subject, to comprehend the harmony of two apparently discordant apostolical authorities. In the third chapter of the epistle to the Romans, Paul declares that we are 'justified freely by grace through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus;' and that 'a man is justified by faith *without the deeds of the law*'—that is, clearly, the deeds or works of the law, the obedience of a transgressor, to whatever degree it may be rendered, cannot possess a justifying merit with God, as he never can perfectly per-

* Dict. Art. Luther.

form what the law required; and if he could, the fulfilment of present duty has no tendency to expiate accumulated guilt. It is soon afterwards added, 'Do we make void the law through faith? God forbid; yea, we establish the law;' that is, we vindicate its claims, and urge its requirements. This is precisely what the apostle James, in coincidence with these views of Paul, more especially enforces. He is speaking of the proof and profitableness of faith; of those works which show it to be *genuine*, in distinction from mere antinomian pretences to it; and hence he says, 'I will show thee my faith by my works;' those, namely, of which he was discoursing, charity and mercy. Without this a pretence to the faith of justification is vain, or, in the apostle's phraseology, it is 'dead;' for justified persons will feel the obligations to obedience, and evince by their conduct a sense of their exalted privilege. In truth Paul refers to our being justified *before God*, and James to our being justified *before men*. The object of both is also to point out the nature of true faith in opposition to that which is feigned or fruitless. Doddridge, therefore, correctly remarks,* 'St. James 'by the word *faith* means simply an assent to the truth of religious principles, *without determining whether it be or not effectual*; and then declares, that in case this assent does not produce *good works*, that is, the solid virtues of the heart and life, it cannot be accepted by God. Whereas St. Paul, by the word *faith*, means a cordial and *vital assent*, which *influences* the heart to a *holy* temper, and according to the gracious terms of the gospel, entitles a man to divine acceptance without any regard at all to the Mosaic law, and previous to the production of any of those *good works* which will naturally be the fruit of it.'

5. The last point illustrative of the beneficial effects of the Reformation, to which we shall refer, is the translation of the Scriptures into the German language; of which Mosheim says, 'The different parts of this translation being successively and gradually spread abroad among the people, produced sudden and almost incredible effects, and extirpated root and branch, the erroneous principles and superstitious doctrines of the church of Rome, from the minds of a prodigious number of persons.'† This great work was completed in 1530; and the principal persons who assisted Luther in it were Melancthon, Cruciger, Bugenhagen, Conas, and Aurogallus. Deeply impressed with the importance of the achievement, Bugenhagen constantly kept the anniversary of the day on which it was finished, with a select party of the chief coadjutors and friends at his house, under the name of 'the festival of the Translation of the Scriptures.'‡

* Family Expos. in loco James, *note*. † Mosh. Eccles. Hist. Vol. iv. p. 60.

‡ Cox's Life of Melancthon.

The influences of the Bible, as rendered into the vernacular language of a people, have ever been, and necessarily must be, powerful. Frequently, however, they are unappreciated, because though the effects are visible, the cause is still hidden from common and carnal observation. When the beneficial influence of literature or science is apparent, the honour is at once given to literature and science; and this without hesitation and without dispute: but when the happy consequences of the circulation of the Bible, and the ministrations of truth founded upon it are known, the Bible is not honoured, nor are the effects attributed to their true cause: and why? Prejudice and passion interpose. There are no moral consequences—no new and important obligations—no pressing and immediate duties, involving a self-sacrifice, self-humiliation, and shame—no unwelcome confessions—no hard services, urgently, imperatively, and at the peril of the soul claimed:—none of these spring of necessity or probability out of admitting the truths or the benefits of literature and science: but the Bible is disowned, its useful and powerful effects traced to other causes, if in any degree acknowledged, because that would be to establish its authority and claim upon the heart and the life, which there is an antecedent, inward, and ever-working hostility against God and holiness to prevent, and till divine grace operate to render impossible.

The truth contained in the sacred volume exerts an influence analogous, both in its force and its secrecy, to that of some of the most wonder-working agencies of nature. It resembles the unseen presence of magnetism or electricity, which move as by a touch, the elements and masses around us—disposing them to order or clothing them with beauty; or it is like the vegetative power that in the darkness and concealment of the earth and the clods of the valley, impels the seed to shoot and rise, and spread fertility upon the smiling surface. Nothing can be more silent and secret, and withal more powerful than these physical operations. It is thus with the truth of the Bible. In the secret recesses of the soul—in the dark and hidden depth of a heart no human eye can penetrate and no human philosophy unravel, it subdues and sanctifies—works repentance, and humiliation, and the settled purposes of a renewed mind, till on the surface appears the penitential tear, the bended knee, the contrite sigh, the believing and imploring reception of Christ, the moral and spiritual renewal of character, the outward, fearless, and heaven-sealing profession of a true religion; and every right-minded observer attests the truth of the divine declaration, 'behold I make all things new.'

In the period of its first promulgation, biblical truth in the form of Christianity, evinced its power: for it was 'mighty 'through God to the pulling down of strong holds.' It disen-

chanted men of their delusions, separated them from their idols and their vices, and from being bound and led captive by Satan, brought them into 'the glorious liberty of the children of God.' Its mighty influence was apparent not only in what it did, but by whom and under what circumstances. It was a battle of the weak against the strong; of the few against the many; of the weaponless against the confederation of armed principalities and forces. And yet it prevailed. Though feeble, it could not be crushed; though opposed and persecuted it could not be stopped: it spread with an ever-widening and irresistible diffusion. It was in a sense invulnerable; at least it was immortal and indestructible: the fire could not burn it, the sword could not slay it, the waters could not drown it. It survived all enmity, and lived amidst all death. Its advocates died, its enemies perished, its locality changed; but there it was—alive, breathing, moving, uprooting error, overthrowing superstition, bending and breaking stubborn hearts, filling the world with its light and love. Those who hated it saw and owned its progress: Asia Minor attested, in the converted thousands of its cities and towns, its truth and its divinity. It saw seasons revolve and man change—the grass wither and the flower fade—reason bow—resistance cower—unbelief turn into faith—and the 'word of the Lord,' in spite of all that hated and all that persecuted it, 'enduring for ever.'

Events of a similar nature transpired after Christianity had become awfully corrupted, and as it were buried in the dark sepulchre of the middle ages, when it struggled into a second birth at the period of the Reformation. The monk of Wittenburg laid his hand upon the essentials of religion, dragged the doctrine of justification by faith from the accumulated rubbish of legendary tales and a base theology, and laying the Bible upon the altar of the church, he pointed the wandering world to its truth; and the world felt its potency. A new era arose. It was not Luther who accomplished it; immortal truth spread; the Bible enlightened, converted, sanctified, and saved men. Germany, Switzerland, England felt it: society was regenerated; its domestic and social elements were transformed; man rose in the scale of being, and in the train of an ascending and triumphant truth rose literature, science, civilization, commerce, discovery, intellect, and morals. It effected a revolution of the human mind and character, changed the policy, and purified the politics of nations, and sowed the seeds of that moral and spiritual improvement, which is at this period advancing with a rapid progression in the thousand home and missionary agencies, that are overflowing and overwhelming with the force of a torrent and the spread of an inundation, the idolatries, the superstitions, and the wickedness of the world. Truth is powerful in its simplicity, and disdaining all unholy alliances as well as hatreds—the alliance of policy with

principle, or the alliance of the church with the state—will triumph by itself alone.

By this time, perhaps, our readers may be disposed to inquire what is the character of the book mentioned at the head of these pages? If, however, the subject rather than the present writer's treatment of it, has first engaged our attention, we hope to be more than excused by the nature of the observations we have ventured to make. In truth, we are scarcely yet in a situation to characterize this performance, as we have only the fourth part of it in our hands; some idea of its merits, however, doubtless may be formed, and we shall freely offer an opinion.

Our author states in his preface, that the history has been drawn from the original sources with which a long residence in Germany has made him familiar; and adds, 'down to this time we possess 'no history of that remarkable period,' (the Reformation). Who he means by '*we*,' is not exactly clear: the publishers of the work appear to have understood it in a very general sense, and this sense we perceive has been reechoed by some of our distinguished fellow labourers. But surely it cannot apply to England. The leading facts of the Reformation have been over and over again related in works on ecclesiastical history, and with much detail by Milner in his *History of the Church of Christ*. That performance, indeed, possesses a certain degree of prolixity and heaviness in the composition which, to say nothing of its prepossessions for 'our church,' might well have been spared. Still it is valuable for the abundance of its matter, and the fidelity of its records, derived from many of the same important originals to which our author refers. We are, nevertheless, much gratified with the present production, especially on account of the information it supplies from authentic sources of the earlier part of Luther's career. Whatever relates to that illustrious man and his mighty achievement for the renovation of the moral world, cannot fail of being interesting to us all; and we appreciate the diligence which has been displayed in searching through not only the works of Luther himself, and the volumes of Seckendorf, but also other, and especially German writers, of an authentic and instructive character. The author fully grasps his subject; yet is there, if we may so express it, a certain mannerism about his composition, which is foreign from the genuine style of history. It aims at terseness, and assumes a philosophical air; but the philosophy is in the manner rather than in the matter. Not having seen the original, we suspect something is imputable to the translation, in which are certainly traces of a defect of idiomatic rendering. We perceive much of Gibbon's spirit of research without his pomposity, still we should like to see more of the perspicuity of Hume, and the flow of Robertson. We are

not, however, insensible to the merit of M. D'Aubigné, and have no doubt that his work will rank high in ecclesiastical literature. We expect increasing gratification as it proceeds, and hope all the volumes will be speedily published.

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- Art. II. 1. *The Deluge, a Drama, in Twelve Scenes.* By JOHN EDMUND READE, Author of 'Italy;' 'Cain, the Wanderer,' etc. London: Saunders and Otley. 1839.
2. *The Antediluvians, or The World Destroyed, a Narrative Poem, in Ten Books.* By JAMES M'HENRY, M.D., Author of 'The Pleasures of Friendship,' &c., &c. London: J. M. Cradock.
3. *The Mabinogion, from the Llyfr Coch o Hergest, and other Ancient Welsh Manuscripts; with an English Translation and Notes.* By LADY CHARLOTTE GUEST. Part I., containing The Lady of the Fountain. London: Longman and Co. Llandovey: W. Rees. 1838.

POETS are an adventurous race. Distinguished as is the present age for enterprise, there is no class of the community which shows more of the spirit of the age than the poets. The publishers, for some years, have been saying every day of their lives, or endorsing returned MSS. with the words, 'Poetry don't sell;' but that ominous phrase has never for a moment daunted the poetical genus. Scarcely a week through the year, season or no season, but dainty tomes of verse issue from the press, in an elegance of form that would have perfectly enchanted our fathers. Of these nine-tenths never sell, and the disappointment and chagrin which must be suffered are really melancholy. Yet neither this, nor the pecuniary loss, which in every ninety out of a hundred publications of poetry is certain, have the least effect on poets. As the seasons roll on new volumes of poetry rise and disappear as surely as new flowers. This, however it may seem to militate against our assertion on a late occasion, that the love of poetry was by no means so nearly extinct in the public mind as many imagined, does, in reality, only confirm that assertion. The everlasting bubblings of the wells of poetry, and their overflowing in ceaseless volumes, show how strong in the English heart is the poetic affection. Why, the writers of poetry are a numerous portion of the public themselves; and if they were only to purchase and read each other's works, would form a poetic assurance society, which would secure the whole fraternity, at least, from loss. But we suspect, that writers of poetry, except perhaps, in their own volumes, read only the very best poetry they can lay their hands on; and that is now so much, and of so

high a quality, from the master-minds, that there is little chance of their dipping into any inferior streams. While, therefore, we cannot but lament the amount of loss and disappointment daily suffered by the most refined and sensitive of literary people, we are compelled to admire their adventurous spirit. While their countrymen prosecute chemical and geological discoveries, bend the force of their genius on new inventions in mechanics and mechanical processes, set on railroads, and project steam conveyances to every quarter of the globe, or traverse the most distant regions to open the fields of emigration and commerce still wider, the poets try all novelties of their art, and penetrate also into the most distant regions of both the present and the past. A decided current of poetry has of late years set in towards Noah's flood, and if the geologists have yet failed to dig up any of the fossil remains of the Antediluvians, the poets have, however, been more successful, and bid fair to raise up again before our astonished eyes, nations of the drowned as numerous as the living of to-day. Dr. M'Henry, who has just given us ten books on this subject, has apparently been so deep in the Flood, that he actually is not aware that any body has been there but himself. He says, 'The annals of mankind furnish many great and stirring events well adapted to poetic narrative; but I wanted one not only great in its character, but *universal* in its effects, that all men might feel an interest in its details. Neither the founding of a state, the achievement of a victory, nor the overthrow of an empire, was, therefore, adequate to my wishes. The discovery of the New World was an event of great and general interest; but it was already poetically occupied, and, therefore, forbidden to me both by courtesy and policy. . . . Still in the annals of mankind there remained one subject *unappropriated by the epic muse*, which, although to sustain it suitably required less daring flights than that which was chosen by Milton, was yet amply magnificent and universally interesting—namely, THE FORTUNES AND CATASTROPHE OF THE ANTEILUVIAN WORLD. This was the subject that appeared to me the best calculated of *any yet unsung*,' &c. What, has Dr. M'Henry never heard of James Montgomery's 'World Before the Flood;' the very same subject, and with the very same title, only that one author uses the word 'Antediluvian,' and the other 'before the flood'? Has Dr. M'Henry never heard of or read that beautiful poem; which has, like his, a giant-king, Cainite armies fighting against the sons of Seth, and an apotheosis of Enoch? Has he not heard of 'The Flood,' by Mr. Heraud, in, if we recollect aright, as many books as his own? Has he not heard of Moore's 'Loves of the Angels,' and Byron's 'Heaven and Earth,' which, though not belonging to the epic muse, have certainly pre-occupied the ground, and take away every possibility of saying, that the subject is *unsung*?

Here is, also, another poem on the same unsung subject, by Mr. Reade; so that Dr. M'Henry, instead of finding himself alone on the wide waters, is likely to be jostled in a crowd. We wish we could assure Dr. M'Henry, however, that notwithstanding such a host of formidable competitors, he was secure of the object of his ambition, which appears to be, not the praise of his native country merely, but of 'all mankind.' His work is a respectable production, but wants the wing that must bear it above the flood of time. It is, moreover, guilty of offending against the propriety of the sacred epopee in a fatal degree. The poet who takes a subject from the Scripture history, may call into poetical being such persons or things as are not mentioned in the text, and yet when introduced shall not be inconsistent with it. But to make an imaginary patriarch, Jethuran, ascend to heaven in the manner of Enoch, is inconsistent with the sacred history, for an event of such magnitude could not have been omitted. To make Noah and his sons great warriors, and leaders of vast armies, is equally inconsistent with all that we have on record respecting them, and clashes violently with their characters of peaceful patriarchs and husbandmen. Mr. Reade has committed a similar error in making Irad, an apocryphal son of Noah, stand at a window of the Ark, and call on 'the lady of his love' as she stood on a rock amid the rising deluge, to come in, and on her refusal, pitch himself out of the window, and perish. There is something not only very hostile in this to the plain declaration of the Bible, that Noah had but three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japhet, and that when they with their wives went into the ark, 'God shut them in,' but there is likewise something rather melodramatic and ludicrous. Dr. M'Henry has more consistently killed Irad in battle, so that there is no occasion for him to jump out of the ark in a love-fit.

Mr. Reade is well known to the public by his former productions, 'Cain, the Wanderer,' and 'Italy,' a poem in the Spenserian stanza; both works of undoubted genius, and the latter a very noble poem indeed. Mr. Reade states, that 'The Deluge,' now published, was written so long ago as 1829, and even before 'Cain, the Wanderer,' as well as before the publication of Moore's 'Loves of the Angels,' and Lord Byron's 'Heaven and Earth.' To say, then, that we think this Drama not equal to the finest production of Mr. Reade's pen—'Italy,' is, in other words, to pay to the author the highest and most encouraging compliment, which is, that within the last ten years his mind has made not only a steady but a most worthy and distinguished progression in moral and poetical power. 'The Deluge' possesses many of the qualities of 'Italy;' the same love of the ancient, the same contemplation of the mutability of this lower world, the same solemn and restrained tone of sentiment and reason; but in 'Italy' we have limnings from the beautiful statuary, and sublime ruins of

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that fair country, that for force and vividness are scarcely surpassed by the happiest passages of Childe Harold, and in a consolatory sentiment of religion are far superior. Mr. Reade seems, indeed, one of those men on whom fortune has conferred the happy destiny of roaming through the most beautiful and most interesting regions of earth, gathering and cherishing great and humanizing thoughts, to scatter them, as a luxury, and a high and refining influence amongst the crowds at home, who are condemned to less intellectual toil.

The interest of 'The Deluge,' turns on the love of Irad for Astarte, a Cainite maiden, but of a most gentle and amiable character, who, however, loves an angel. We might quote many passages of a rich and solemn beauty from this Drama, but we must content ourselves with a sweet

ODE,

*Written during the close of a summer's day, in a glen near
Ilfracombe.*

I.

To be—to be—O God of Heaven !
It is enough on such a day
To feel that life alone is given ;
Life, feeling, and humanity :
To wile the sunny hours away
In one absorbing reverie ;
And in the earth, the sky, the sea,
THYSELF—THYSELF, ALONE TO SEE !

II.

' Do we not wake, O Father ! feeling
Thy breath in every wind that blows ?
Disease and pestilence now healing :
Now rustling dew-drops from the rose.
Is not thy deep, thy awful word,
In the earth-shaking thunder heard ?
Tell not the lightnings, as they fly,
How scathing is thy wrathful eye ?

III.

' When buried in the woods I lie,
While burning noon-day scorches round,
When not a quivering leaf on high
Breaks on the stillness, nor a sound ;
Do I not *feel* the silent strife
Of nature bursting into life ?
That life—that pulse, so full, so free,
Father of mercies ! drawn from thee.

IV.

‘ When on the twilight’s hues I gaze,
 So soft, so fading, so serene ;
 While on the deep the sun’s last rays
 Still glorious, though subdued are seen ;
 Do I not see the type—the trace
 Of God ! of thy all-formless face,
 Irradiate with smiles of light
 When virtuous deeds rejoice thy sight.

V.

‘ And when the sacred day is done,
 When the stars ope their radiant eyes,
 Thicker than sand-grains floating on
 The shoreless ocean of the skies !
 Though *I* hear not the music there
 That silently thy works declare :
 The love—the rapture in my heart
 Tells me, O God ! *there* too Thou art.

VI.

‘ Then, while all nature sinks to rest,
 Folded by darkness’ solemn pall ;
 While, like an infant, man opprest,
 Yields helpless to oblivion’s thrall ;
 Do I not feel, while sleep and death
 Contend above each parting breath,
 Each pulse—each breath, unknown to me,
 Is watched, OMNIPOTENT, by Thee !’

We notice ‘The Mabinogion’ here, not because it is strictly classable with the preceding, but rather as a matter of convenience. Those are poems by modern writers on subjects of far-off ages, this is a modern publication of the legendary romances of the Welsh, running as far back as the days of the ancient Britons. Yet these, though presented in this specimen in a prosaic form, are all poetry, essentially poetry, and many of them in verse too. The romances of the times of King Arthur, and of the earlier chivalric era, with all their extravagance, are not only highly poetical in their feeling and language, but display a moral tone infinitely superior to that of the present day. The nobility could not lounge away their days in frivolous dissipation. They held in the deepest contempt sloth and effeminacy ; they could not compound for the breach of marriage faith in a court of justice by money, they must maintain their honour with their life. They could not win the wealthy and the fair by dressing in fashion, driving in style, and dancing at Almacks, but by proofs of

their valour, and the succour of the weak ; and as nobility of action was requisite to success in life, nobility of sentiment was not sneered at. The word HUMBUG had then no existence, to put down every worthier aspiration like a spell.

The history of this publication is curious, and confers the highest honour on its spirited and patriotic editor, Lady Charlotte Guest. The Rev. T. Price, of Crickhowel, in a speech at the Abergavenny Cymreigyddion Anniversary Meeting, October 10, 1838, thus alluded to it. ‘The legendary tales of the Welsh are of the same stock with those ancient British traditions which furnished the first materials of the imaginative compositions of the various nations of modern Europe, and in many instances they appear to contain the original subjects of the early romances of chivalry. As a desire had often been expressed to see these interesting remains brought before the public, several attempts were made both by individuals and literary societies to accomplish this object, but from want of literary qualifications, or pecuniary resources, they all proved unsuccessful. . . . When we were thus foiled and disappointed in all our endeavours to publish the *Mabinogion*, and had given up the project in despair, Lady Charlotte Guest, with a promptness and energy so characteristic of herself, said, ‘I will translate the work myself, and publish it at my own expense.’

Lady Charlotte Guest kept her word as promptly and spiritedly as it was pledged. She has given in the part now published, a translation, in the opinion of the Welsh themselves, ‘of the most admirable description,’ of ‘The Lady of the Fountain,’ printing with it the original, and also the old French version of the story, ‘Le Chevalier au Lion,’ with fac-similes of the MSS. of this, of ‘Ywain and Gawin,’ as it exists in the British Museum, and of the Welsh. All these Lady Charlotte Guest has prepared for the artists, manifesting herself a very accomplished as well as tasteful lady. The work is, merely as a specimen of typography, and embellishment, though proceeding from a Llandovery press, of the greatest elegance. It is, moreover, adorned with some wood-cuts of peculiar beauty. If the gentry of the Principality could not by their united efforts produce this work, which a lady has singly accomplished, we do not see how one library in Wales of any pretension can remain destitute of a copy of it, without the severest censure on its possessor. It ought, indeed, to be on the shelves not only of every antiquarian of Great Britain, but of every lover of our ancient poetry and romance, and, indeed, of every reader of taste. In a more chivalrous age the very circumstances under which it has been produced would have caused it to be universally welcomed with enthusiasm.

We do not here intend to enter into the disputed question whether the old Arthurian romances are of Welsh or of Norman

origin. Ritson asserts, that the Welsh have no ancient MSS. yet what so probable as that the stories of Arthur should originate amongst his own people? The Mabinogion, it appears, exists in the *Llyfr Coch o Hergest*, or Red Book of Hergest, in the library of Jesus College, Oxford. Some of them, Lady Charlotte Guest states, relate to the period of Arthur, and others to one still earlier. At the end of the Red Book, it appears, are some poems of Lewis Glyn Cothi, a bard of the fifteenth century, but many of the MSS. are supposed to be of a much earlier transcription. Leaving, therefore, the question of their origin, it is a work of love towards all admirers of literary antiquities, and especially towards all such of the Principality, to place them before the public in so attractive a shape as this. If the Mabinogion possess real claims to their assumed antiquity, they cannot but exhibit internal evidences of it, and for the public, and especially the Welsh public, to suffer the weight of this arduous task to fall upon one generous and gifted woman, without giving every testimony of encouragement and approval, would be a disgrace to our literary pretensions which we sincerely trust does not await them.

The opening of the story, which is full of pictures of the manner of life in Arthur's days, we give as a specimen both of the tale and its translation.

'King Arthur was at Caerlleon upon Usk; and one day he sat in his chamber; and with him were Owain, the son of Urien, and Kynon, the son of Clydno, and Kai, the son of Kyner; and Gwenhwyvar and her hand-maidens at needlework by the window. And if it should be said, that there was a porter at Arthur's palace, there was none. Glewlwyd Gavaelvawr was there acting as porter, to welcome guests and strangers, and to receive them with honour, and to inform them of the manners and customs of the Court; and to direct those who came to the Hall or to the Presence Chamber, and those who came to take up their lodging.

'In the centre of the chamber, King Arthur sat, upon a seat of green rushes, over which was spread a cover of flame-coloured satin, and a cushion of red satin was under his elbow.

'Then Arthur spake, 'If I thought you would not disparage me,' said he, 'I would sleep while I wait for my repast, and you can entertain one another with relating tales, and can obtain a flagon of mead and some meat from Kai.' And the King went to sleep. And Kynon, the son of Clydno, asked Kai for that which Arthur had promised them. 'I too will have the good tale which he promised to me,' said Kai. 'Nay, answered Kynon, 'fairer will it be for thee to fulfil Arthur's behest in the first place, and then we will tell thee the best tale that we know.' So Kai went to the kitchen, and to the mead cellar, and returned, bearing a flagon of mead, and a golden goblet, and a handful of skewers, upon which were broiled collops of meat. Then

they ate the collops, and began to drink the mead. 'Now,' said Kai, 'it is time for you to give me my story.' 'Kynon,' said Owain, 'do thou pay to Kai the tale that is his due.' 'Truly,' said Kynon, 'thou art older, and a better teller of tales, and hast seen more marvellous things than I; do thou, therefore, pay Kai his tale.' 'Begin thyself,' quoth Owain, 'with the best that thou knowest.' 'I will do so,' answered Kynon.

Kynon, and after him Owain, tells the romantic story of 'The Lady of the Fountain.' We shall have further to say on the subject of this interesting publication on the appearance of another part.

Art. III. Prospectus of the Dissenters' and General Life and Fire Assurance Company.

OUR readers have probably expected from us, before this, some account of the Institution, the Prospectus of which stands at the head of the present article. Devoted especially to the interests of the Protestant Dissenters of Great Britain, it pertains appropriately to the Eclectic to take cognizance of every use which is made of their name, and to subject to a severe though friendly scrutiny, whatever solicits their support, or proposes their advantage. To this duty we now address ourselves with a more ready mind and with fuller and more satisfactory information than if the attempt had been made at an earlier period. Time has been allowed for the Institution to settle down, and take its rank among kindred societies; while the measure of support it has obtained may be considered as a fair index of the degree in which it is likely to secure the confidence of the dissenting body, and thus become instrumental in effecting the benevolent object for which it was formed. The excellency of that object admits of no question,—the only doubt that has ever been raised respects the probability of its attainment by the means proposed. How far there was ground for this doubt was at first matter of uncertainty. Some were confident of success, and others predicted failure. The former pointed to the number, wealth, and intelligence of the great body of British Dissenters, and were certain of their rallying round a society which proposed so simple, feasible, and delicate a mode of providing for the comfort of the families of our ministers;—the latter insisted on the number of Insurance Companies already existing, and impugned the constitution of the projected association, as an approach to the reprehensible and most vicious practice of exclusive dealing. Before

closing our remarks we shall notice these objections: our present object is simply to remark, that the experiment has now been tried for upwards of twelve months, and that the evidence of fact has been supplied during that period, to determine the question thus raised. The progress made during this period demonstrates beyond doubt the feasibility of the plan, and the certainty of its accomplishment, even beyond the early expectations of its supporters. This is a great step gained, and places us, as public journalists, in a position to speak freely of the well balanced constitution and admirable design of the Society. The certainty of its securing such a measure of support as will enable it materially to contribute to the mental repose and domestic happiness of a class of men whose claims are unrivalled, as their labors are most abundant; relieves us from the only ground of hesitation we have ever felt in proceeding to canvass its merits. Before entering on our more specific design, however, we shall avail ourselves of the opportunity offered, to furnish our readers with some little information on the subject of life assurance in general;—a subject, than which, none more important occurs in the whole economy of domestic life. We are the more disposed to this from the ignorance which prevails even among well informed men, respecting the data on which assurance transactions are based. We have found on some occasions, with no little surprise, that these transactions have been regarded as kindred, if not identical, with those of the gambler; a notion which could never have been entertained if the first rudiments of the science on which they proceed had been understood. As in numerous other cases, so in this, ignorance has confounded the dictates of wisdom, the arrangements of an honourable prudence, with the recklessness of an unprincipled speculation. Let the matter be placed in the clear light of day, and its integrity will be visible. A few remarks will suffice to put our readers in possession of sufficient information to decide the matter for themselves.

All insurance transactions are based on two facts, one of which is obvious to every man; but the other, though equally certain, is far from being so generally apprehended, and, indeed, is only to be made out by a large induction of particulars, spreading over a wide surface, and extending through a series of years. We refer to the proverbial uncertainty of individual lives, and to the fixed, unvarying laws which regulate the lives of a community. As the necessary consequence of the former, no man can affirm respecting himself or any other man, that he shall be alive at the close of a year, a month, a week, or even a day; while from the latter it follows with equal certainty, that it is possible to ascertain with very considerable accuracy, what will be the average duration of the lives of any considerable number of persons,—say the inhabitants of a town of ordinary size, or of a county, or king-

dom. Having ascertained the population of any such locality, it will only be to register the mortality occurring there during any sufficient number of years, and the data thus gathered from the past,—representing the number and ages of the parties who have died—will be found to correspond, with only such slight deviations as counterbalance each other, with what will occur among the same population, during a similar future period, their circumstances remaining substantially the same. ‘Nothing is more ‘proverbially uncertain,’ remarks Mr. Babbage, ‘than the duration of human life, when the maxim is applied to an individual; yet there are few things less subject to fluctuation, than the ‘average duration of a multitude of individuals.’*

These two facts, the uncertainty of the lives of individuals and the fixedness of the lives of any great number, lie, as we have already remarked, at the foundation of all assurance transactions. The necessity for such transactions is based on the former—their wisdom on the latter. The one renders it expedient to obtain the security which assurance contracts proffer—the other proves that such security may be guaranteed. ‘The whole object ‘of assurances,’ says Mr. Babbage, ‘is to render that certain, ‘which nature has made uncertain. A person in health and employment knows that if he lives a few years, he will be able to ‘leave, at his death, a competence for his family; but he knows ‘also, that from the uncertainty of life he may be cut off in a ‘year, or a month, and leave that family unprovided for: thus ‘situated, he has recourse to an assurance on his life, and he is ‘now certain of leaving a provision for his family.’† The speculator in this case,—the man who trusts to the chapter of accidents, is the individual who so far calculates on the continuance of his life, as to neglect those precautionary measures of which his circumstances admit, and to which he is invited, nay urged, by the tenderest and most powerful considerations. An affluent man need make no such provision, but he who lives by his own exertions miserably fails to discharge his social duty if he do not—though at some expense of his daily comfort—seek to make provision for the future support of those who are dependent on his care. To object to such anticipative measures on the ground of their betokening a mistrust of God’s providence, is the mere drivelling of an unreflecting piety. It betokens a lamentable ignorance of the character and scope of the divine administration, and is in palpable opposition to the rules adopted in a thousand analagous cases. Other evils are guarded against, and why not this,—this which involves an evil of paramount magnitude, bringing with it not only penury and social discomfort, but exposing

* Comp. View. Introd.

† *ib.* p. 105.

its innocent victims to a thousand moral dangers from which a little foresight and self-denial would have exempted them. The accumulation of wealth—the laying up of ‘treasures upon earth’ is no legitimate object for a Christian; but this is a totally different thing—different both in the spirit which prompts it, and in the end which it seeks—from those prudential arrangements, that are designed merely to supply the inevitable wants attaching to our condition, and for which nothing but parental foresight and self-denial can make provision. In the one case pride and worldly mindedness may, and in the majority of instances undoubtedly do, operate, but in the other we see the workings of that parental feeling—deeply seated in the human heart, which knows no selfishness, but seeks in the happiness of others its own enjoyment. Such a procedure is equally compatible with the precepts of Christianity and with the domestic affections which are implanted in our hearts. An apostle has declared—and his language may well decide the matter—that ‘if any provide not for his own, and especially for those of his own house, he hath denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel.’*

In a commercial country like this, thousands of families are dependent on the daily exertions of a parent. This is the case with a large proportion of the members of the three professions, with many functionaries both public and private, with merchants and bankers' clerks, and with an innumerable multitude of the middle and lower orders of tradesmen. The circumstances of many of these may be easy, their families are supported in comfort; their children are well educated, and in some cases a small reserved fund—the growth of economy and great prudence—may be formed. But still all is dependent on a single life, and that life may be terminated in a moment. On the health of a father is suspended not only the comfort of a domestic circle, now all peace and joyousness, but the continued supply of the simplest and most necessary elements of support. Let *him* be removed, and the bitterness of a widow and orphans' grief will be aggravated by the fact, that penury and neglect are their future lot. Under such circumstances we cannot estimate too highly the constitution of those societies which propose to avert this greatest of domestic evils. They are a national blessing for which thousands have need to be grateful, and as long as they proceed in a safe and honourable course must have the best wishes of every philanthropist. ‘I consider,’ says Mr. Morgan, and we perfectly agree with him in the remark, ‘every assurance made for the purpose

* 1 Tim. v. 8.

‘of providing for a surviving family, in whatever office it is effected, not only as a private, but as a public good.’*

Many of our readers will be desirous of knowing on what data Assurance Offices proceed in calculating the expectancy or average duration of life. The uncertainty of individual lives is notorious. Every body sees it, and it is, therefore, universally admitted. How, then, it may be asked, is the average duration of a community ascertained, so that the premiums required on individual lives may just suffice to meet the liabilities incurred, and to afford a fair remuneration to the parties whose capital is invested as a security to the assured. The tables of mortality hitherto constructed are confessedly partial and incomplete, but their defects are in a great measure remedied by the experience of the last fifty years, during which assurance transactions have been rapidly extending through the kingdom. The science may be said to be one of modern times, for prior to the year 1779, the Amicable, which is the oldest office in the kingdom, charged the same premium for all ages under forty-five, and never exceeded £300 on the same life, while the Royal Exchange Office took a few lives, charging, we believe, a uniform premium of five per cent. for a single year. The subsequent progress of the Equitable, presided over at first by Dr. Richard Price, and subsequently by Mr. Morgan, brought the subject out more distinctly to public view, and thus caused the principles of the science to be better understood, and to be more extensively applied. The result has been a collection of facts which serve to rectify the inaccuracies of our earlier tables of mortality, and to place the whole subject on a basis of indisputable truth. The Northampton tables formed by Dr. Price, were the basis on which the older offices calculated their premiums, and are still retained by many of them. They were constructed from various returns, and not, as their title would import, from the mortality of a single town. The following account of the materials employed by Dr. Price is extracted from the testimony of the Rev. John Becher, before the parliamentary committee of 1827. We subjoin it for the information of our readers.

‘As very considerable misapprehension appears to have existed respecting the manner in which the Northampton tables were constructed, it may be proper to state, that they were founded upon very correct registers kept in the town of Northampton from 1735 to 1780, comprising a period of forty-six years; and that the tables now denominated the ‘Northampton Tables,’ are not founded on those calcula-

* The Principles and Doctrine of Assurance, pref. p. xii.

tions only, but also upon other very minute observations deduced from accurate registers kept in opposite parts of the kindom ; for instance, from the register at Norwich, from another at Holy Cross, in Salop, by the Rev. Mr. Gorsuch, from a table formed at Chester, by Dr. Haygarth, from another at Warrington, by Dr. Aikin, from another at Ackworth, in Yorkshire, by Dr. Lee ; and that in these tables, or at least in many of them, not only the deaths, and the ages at which they severally occurred, were stated, but also the circumstances of the persons dying ; dividing them into males and females, and subdividing the males into bachelors, married men, and widowers ; and the females into maids, married women, and widows The next documents that came under the consideration of Dr. Price in forming these tables, were the registers of Sweden, which discriminate between males and females, and of Switzerland, as well as the tontines, of which correct records had been kept and formed into tables by De Parcieux for the tontines at Paris, and by Kerseboon for the Dutch Annuitants, together with the tables of Baron Maseres, and the annuitants of our own government.*

The formation of these tables constituted an important step in the progress of the science of assurance, and has been of incalculable service. They have given a consistency to proceedings which were formerly vague and matters of chance—have reduced to accurate and veritable calculations those pecuniary transactions on which the comfort of thousands depends. Their inaccuracy was happily on the safe side. Had they given a longer average duration to human life than the experience of Assurance offices has confirmed, they would have entailed ruin on the establishments which adopted them, and have brought the whole subject of life assurance into doubt. But erring on the other side—giving a shorter duration than subsequent experience justifies—they have entailed no other inconvenience than that of requiring a larger premium from our fathers than the nature of the risk rendered necessary. Public confidence has thus been maintained, every liability has been promptly met, and the reserved fund gradually formed, has been the evidence and measure of the reduction which may safely be made in the premiums to be required. That the expectancy of life given by the Northampton Tables is too short, a variety of circumstances proves. The fact is sufficiently obvious from this single consideration,—the offices adopting the Northampton Tables require from the persons assuring with them, only so much, in the shape of premium, as would suffice, if laid out at three per cent. interest, to meet the claims arising from deaths. They add no per centage on the supposed cost value of the commodity they sell, to cover the expenses of conducting their establishments, or of remunerating the parties whose

* Friendly Societies, Parl. papers. June 29, 1827.

capital is a guarantee for their stability.* They rely—and experience shows they may safely do so—on the greater longevity of the parties they assure than is presumed in their tables. A less proportion of them is found to die annually than those tables would lead us to anticipate, and a much greater number of payments—technically called premiums—is in consequence received. The published experience of some of these offices fully bear us out in our remarks. Two instances will suffice for our purpose—the London Equitable and the Scottish Widows' Fund. In the Reports of the former, Mr. Morgan states, that the deaths occurring among its members are, to those which should happen according to the Northampton Table, for ages between twenty and thirty, as one to two; and for all ages as two to three. A similar fact is explicitly stated by the auditor of the latter institution, in a report to a General Court in 1834. The society had then been established nearly twenty years, and an inquiry into its affairs having been instituted, we are informed, that 'the result of this investigation is, that the expected number of deaths by the Northampton Table, which is the table of the society, is to the actual number during the whole progress of the society as one hundred to fifty-seven; and the proportion of the expected numbers by the Equitable experience is to the actual number, as one hundred to eighty-seven.' Taking, then, these facts, together with other analogous evidence which has been supplied from various quarters, we fully concur in the following opinion expressed by the Commons' Committee in 1827. 'The evidence appears, to your committee, to be strong and decisive in favour of the use of tables which give an expectation of life higher than the Northampton. . . In truth, there is not a *prima facie* case in their favour. It is admitted, that those tables were originally formed, in a degree, upon hypothetical data; the observations upon which they were founded come down no further than the year 1780, or at the latest to 1791; and it is not affirmed that they have been verified by any actual and subsequent observation, or by the experience of any society which has endured for a period sufficiently long to bring to a sure test the accuracy of its calculation.†

* When the Northampton Tables were first adopted by the Equitable, fifteen per cent. was added to the premiums computed from them. This was a wise and most sanitary regulation, but after five years, it was abandoned as unnecessary to the stability of the office. The admirable prudence which in the earlier stages of this society marked its operations, have been mainly instrumental in inducing the public confidence which is now reposed in assurance transactions. Has not this prudence been carried to a fault in later times?

† Parl. Papers. June 29, 1827.

We have dwelt the more largely on the construction and character of these tables on account of their having been so extensively adopted by the older offices; a few words will suffice for the remaining part of this branch of our subject.

The Carlisle Tables, which have also been widely employed, were formed by Mr. Milne, the distinguished actuary of the Sun, from the Observations of Dr. Heysham on the mortality of the inhabitants of Carlisle. The period over which these observations extended was only nine years; commencing with 1779, and ending with 1787; and the mean population was a little more than eight thousand. These two facts derogate from the authority of these tables as a primary and exclusive standard for the measurement of life, and would render it inexpedient to make them the basis of important pecuniary calculations, if there were not other witnesses to support their verdict. Such witnesses, however, are at hand, and their testimony strongly confirms the substantial accuracy of the tables in question. 'The only imperfection I am aware of in the Carlisle Tables,' says Mr. Naylor, the late actuary of the Economic, 'is the short space of time during which the observations were continued. Observations made during nine years only on a population of 8000 persons, may justly be deemed insufficient. I should not, therefore, rely so implicitly on the results of calculation founded on the Carlisle Table, but for the very near agreement of such results with those derived from every other table hitherto published, which is derived from proper data, and is applicable to this country.'*

The only other table of mortality we shall notice is that which is founded on the experience of the Equitable Society, and which is destined, we apprehend, to supplant the tables of Dr. Price, however tenaciously they may be clung to by the older offices. Approximations to these tables were published early in 1826, by Mr. Babbage and Mr. Griffith Davies, on the authority of a comparison made by Mr. Morgan, of the decrements of life among the members of the Equitable Society, with the decrements which should occur according to the Northampton Tables. Mr. Morgan, however, himself in 1834, published a set of tables which, as they are founded on a more exact knowledge of the facts in question, furnish a determinate standard, to which appeal may be confidently made. The table marked A in his collection states the annual vitality and mortality of the whole of the insurers in the Equitable, from the establishment of the Company in 1762, to 1829. As the number of lives included in his observations was 21,398, and the period embraced was no less than sixty-seven years, sufficient scope was allowed for the occurrence of those

* Parl. Papers, Appendix D. June 29, 1827.

casualties and deviations from ordinary rules, for which a prudential allowance is required to be made. It may be further remarked, in reference to the table in question, that the class whose mortality it records is precisely that with which Assurance Companies have to deal, and that its results may, therefore, be relied on as presenting a closer approximation to the facts which will be elicited in the experience of any office, than a more general return of mortality. We subjoin for the information of our readers a comparative view of the decrement of life, and of its mean or average duration, according to the Northampton, Carlisle, and Equitable tables. No. 1 states the quinquennial decrease. No. 2 the average duration, or what is technically called the expectancy of life, at the ages specified. The close resemblance between the data of the Carlisle and Equitable tables is strikingly visible in the latter.

No. I.

DECREMENT OF LIFE.

Age.	Northampton.	Carlisle.	Equitable.
0	11650	10000	
1	8650	8461	
5	6249	6797	
10	5675	6460	5000
15	5423	6300	4820
20	5132	6090	4641
25	4760	5879	4475
30	4385	5642	4305
35	4010	5362	4124
40	3635	5075	3922
45	3248	4727	3702
50	2857	4397	3461
55	2448	4073	3170
60	2038	3643	2796
65	1632	3018	2339
70	1232	2401	1800
75	832	1675	1225
80	469	953	700
85	186	445	276
90	46	142	67
95	4	30	9

No. II.

EXPECTATION OF LIFE.

Age.	Northampton.	Carlisle.	Equitable.
0	25.18	38.72	
1	32.74	44.68	
5	40.84	51.25	
10	39.78	48.82	48.318
15	36.51	45.00	45.029
20	33.43	41.46	41.670
25	30.85	37.86	38.123
30	28.27	34.34	34.530
35	25.68	31.00	30.934
40	23.08	27.61	27.395
45	20.52	24.46	23.873
50	17.99	21.11	20.360
55	15.58	17.58	16.989
60	13.21	14.34	13.911
65	10.88	11.79	11.134
70	8.60	9.18	8.699
75	6.54	7.01	6.609
80	4.75	5.51	4.754
85	3.37	4.12	3.387
95	2.41	3.28	2.559
90	0.75	3.53	1.055

Having ascertained by the process already pointed out, the average duration of human life, it is comparatively easy to determine the annual payment which must be made to secure any given sum on the death of an individual. The system of a mutual assurance company in one of its simplest forms may be illustrated thus. Suppose such a society to consist of 5132 persons, each aged twenty years, and assume that the rate of mortality among them will be according to the data of the Northampton tables, the improvable value of money being three per cent. Each individual would in this case have to pay annually £2 3s. 7d., in order to assure to his representatives £100 on his death. The premiums of the first year—which are always paid in advance—would, with the interest made on them, amount at the close of the year, to £11,518 2s. 1d. But the Northampton tables assume, that seventy-two out of the 5132 persons, would die during the year. Their policies, amounting to £7200, would consequently have to be paid, and this sum deducted from the other would leave at the close of the year £4318 2s. 1d. At the commencement of

the second year the number surviving would be 5060, the gross amount of whose payments, added to the balance of the former year, would be £15343 16s. 9d., which being improved at interest would amount at the close of the year to £15804 3s. 2d. From this sum must be subtracted the claims of seventy-five persons—the number of deaths in the second year—and the remainder, £8304 3s. 2d., would be the accumulated capital of the company. The number to enter on the third year would be 4985, whose premiums, added to this sum, and still employed at interest, would, after paying the claims of seventy-five—the number to die in the third year—leave a balance in favour of the society of £12241 9s. 5d. The capital of the company at the end of the first, second, and third years would stand, therefore, as follows.

At the end of 1st year £4318 2s. 1d., after deducting for claims £7200.			
2nd	„	£8304 3s. 2d-	„ £7500.
3rd	„	£12241 9s. 5d.	„ £7500.

This capital would continue to increase for several years, until the number of survivors was so far reduced that the amount of their annual payments would fall short of the claims arising from deaths. In this event the accumulated capital would come into operation, and would have to be diminished yearly by such a sum as would make up the difference between the premiums received and the policies to be paid, until at length, the last fraction of it would be required—and would prove just sufficient—to pay the claim arising from the death of the last survivor of the 5132 persons originally assured. On this simple statement it is obvious to remark, that a large proportion of the persons assured, die prior to their attaining an average age, and are consequently clear gainers—even in a pecuniary point of view—by the transaction. Others survive that period, and pay more than their representatives are to receive, but this is fully balanced by the security they have enjoyed, and the economy which in many cases is induced. Persons of limited incomes are but little disposed to deny themselves an occasional luxury in order to put by twenty or thirty pounds. The sum is not deemed sufficient to stimulate them to frugality, and they, therefore, ordinarily spend it. But if they have assured their life, the premium is regarded as a debt, and is provided for accordingly. Luxuries, and even comforts, are declined if they stand in the way of its payment. We are satisfied for ourselves, that we are not a penny poorer now, on account of two assurances effected very early in life, than we should have been if we had neglected this imperative duty. The future support thus secured to our families, has been obtained by the denial of comforts, which we have done well without, but

which we should scarcely have refused if we had not committed ourselves by such an engagement.

From what we have already remarked, our readers will not be surprised at our taking a deep interest in the *Protestant Dissenters' and General Life and Fire Assurance Company*. This Institution was formed in the close 1837, and we shall occupy a brief space in explanation of its design and progress. It originated in a feeling of deep concern for the welfare of the Dissenting body, and of the Dissenting ministry especially. This is explicitly stated in the Prospectus before us, and we cannot do better than quote it.

‘The Protestant Dissenters’ and General Life and Fire Assurance Company, has been established with the view of calling the attention of a numerous and influential section of the community to the importance of providing, by means of Life Assurances, for the future interests of their families. Though the aggregate amount of Life Assurance has enormously increased, experience proves that this increase has principally taken place among professional men in good practice, persons enjoying comfortable incomes, and those who are engaged in the higher departments of trade and commerce; while individuals of limited means, and those occupied in the more ordinary pursuits of agriculture, manufactures, and trade, very generally neglect to assure their lives, seeking to provide for their dependent families by employing their surplus income in the slow process of gradual accumulation. Daily experience unfortunately furnishes too many instances where early death prevents the attainment of this object, and the members of a bereaved family are then left to deplore the consequences of rashly speculating upon the lengthened duration of life; when, by the employment of the same sum in an Assurance, they would have been entitled to its protection the moment after the Policy was effected.

The circumstances of the Protestant Dissenters of this country, are exactly such as render this mode of investment most advisable; while there is reason to conclude, that as yet they have availed themselves of it to a very limited extent. It was thought by the projectors of the present Company, that an Institution bearing their name, and conducted principally by members of their own body, would be more likely to awaken the attention and command the confidence of Dissenters, than the several Offices previously existing. Under this impression the Company has been formed, and it will be the peculiar care of the Directors to avail themselves of the extensive means of influence, and channels of communication, which they possess, to convey a knowledge of the advantages of Assurance to every town and village in the United Empire; and, in order that they may extend, as far as possible, the benefits now enjoyed by the more opulent, to classes which have as yet been scarcely reached—facilities will be given for effecting small policies—an object favoured by the legislature, which has recently *reduced the stamp duty* payable in respect to Policies of that description.

It had long been felt, that the claims of the Ministry were very partially met. The fact was in every person's lips; it was obtruded on public attention in a thousand forms, some of which were exceedingly painful to every honourable and delicately minded member of the profession; and various expedients had been suggested in order to remedy the evil. Under the impression of this fact, several meetings were held, some three or four years since at the Congregational Library, with the view of forming a Ministerial Assurance Society, in more immediate connexion, we believe, with the Congregational body. The design, however, fell through,—a circumstance which we do not now regret, as it left the ground open for an Institution of a more general nature, and of far wider scope. Several minor associations exist throughout the country, having for their object the comfort of the families of our deceased ministers, but their resources are exceedingly limited, and the eleemosynary principle on which, to a greater or less extent, they are based, induces evils of serious magnitude. Excellent in themselves, and worthy of all commendation, they minister partial relief in their several localities, to the widows and the orphans of our ministers, but are utterly incapable of meeting a twentieth part of the demand made upon them. Let us not be supposed—in making the reference we now do—to be disparaging the ministry, or lowering one tittle the public standing of its members. We know full well how sensitive some men are on this point, and to a great extent we sympathize with them. The feeling is an honourable and lofty one, and if it occasionally puts on a somewhat questionable garb, and looks more like pride than self-respect, we are only reminded of the tendency of human virtues to run into extremes. We know much of the great body of Dissenting ministers; we have seen them in their undress, have traced them in their families, have sat by their firesides, and after all our observations, extended through many years and diversified by an endless variety of circumstances, we say unhesitatingly, that they are not surpassed—nay, that they have never, as a body, been surpassed, since the age of inspiration closed. Endowed, in many instances, with rare abilities, and enriched with the fruits of assiduous study, they turn from the associations in which wealth and distinction are earned, and devote themselves, body, soul, and strength, to the unobtrusive engagements of their spiritual calling. It would be easy for many of them to obtain in other and more ambitious pursuits, such a share of the good things of this life, as would place their families beyond the reach of want, but necessity is laid upon them to preach the gospel, and they cheerfully obey the heavenly summons. Casting themselves and their families on the good providence of God, they find an ample solace in the spiritual benefits which they administer to others. This self-devotion is

entitled to a grateful recompense, hitherto but very partially rendered, and we rejoice in the formation of the present society as furnishing another, and as we anticipate, no trifling contribution to the comfort of this estimable class of men. Their own delicacy, joined with a noble-hearted devotion to their calling, prevents their doing justice to their own claims, and it is time, therefore, that their friends did it for them. Such is the design of the Dissenters' and General Assurance Company. The names of the Directors are for the most part well known, and will carry confidence with them into every part of the country. 'Most of them,' as is remarked in one of their publications, 'would instantly have declined to take part in a merely commercial undertaking, but the prospect of benefiting a body to which they are warmly attached, has overcome their reluctance, and induced them to incur the heavy responsibilities of their station.' It is not too much to say, that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to combine together an equal number of gentlemen similarly distinguished by their wealth and position in the Dissenting body. By awakening an increased attention to the subject of life assurance among Dissenters generally, the directors hope to confer an immense benefit on the body at large, while by concentrating this business in one institution, they design the formation of a fund, from which a simple, delicate, and most honourable provision may be made for the comfort of the families of the Ministry. It is, therefore, made an integral part of the constitution of the company, and as such is inserted in their Deed of Settlement, that a tenth part of the profits of the business shall be set apart from year to year, to form what is called 'The Ministers' Fund.' Half of this fund is to be applied 'in the reduction of the premiums of assurances on the lives of Protestant Dissenting and Methodist Ministers,' and the other half may be employed in the same way, or in such other modes as in the judgment of the Board shall be for the benefit of the families in question. By this arrangement it will be seen, that a moiety of the sum annually accruing to the 'Ministers' Fund' from the general profits of the business, must be applied to the benefit of the ministers actually assured,—or, in other words, to the reduction of the premiums payable on their policies. The other moiety of this fund is not so restricted, but may be used in granting annuities to widows, making provision for the settlement of ministers' orphans, or in other analogous modes, of beneficent operation. By this division of the fund two objects are gained, and each is admirable. The directors are enabled to hold out an inducement to congregations or individuals, to assure the lives of their ministers, by proffering such a yearly decrease of the sum to be paid, as shall gradually lighten the burden, thus rendering that facile which would otherwise be onerous and exhausting. We have known cases where

congregations have been deterred from assuring the lives of their minister from an apprehension of the extreme difficulty of maintaining the subscription list formed for that purpose. 'We could easily,' it has been remarked, 'obtain the requisite sum now, and for two, three, five, or it may be for seven years; but several of the original subscribers would be dropping off by death or removal, and it would be difficult to supply their place, until at length the matter would press heavily upon a few, and would give occasion, it may be, to the occurrence of serious evils.' This anticipation of a future burden has operated in a vast number of cases against an effort which might easily have been made, and which was called for by the claims both of justice and of kindness. To such a state of things the Dissenters' Assurance Company addresses itself. It obviates the very evil complained of, by applying a portion of its profits to a gradual liquidation of the burden; and thus brings within the reach of all what might otherwise be unattainable. The other object secured by the division of the 'Ministers' Fund' is the power granted to the Directors of meeting those cases of distress—unhappily not infrequent among us—which arise from the precariousness of human life. It sometimes happens, that a minister is cut down in the midst of his career, without having been able to make any provision, even the smallest, for the support of his family. His sorrowing household—the wife of his bosom, whose comfort was his daily study, and the children that enlivened his hearth and spread joyousness through his soul, are thus suddenly plunged into circumstances of extreme distress. Such cases would have been excluded from the benevolent operation of the fund in question but for the division adverted to, and the efficiency of the society, the comprehensiveness of its range, and the adaptation of its provisions to the actual exigencies of the Dissenting body would thus have been greatly impaired. It may possibly occur to some, that the proportion of a tenth is but a small contribution, whereby a very inconsiderable benefit will accrue to the parties whose advantage is designed. We have heard this objection mooted, while on the other hand it has been urged by some parties, that the subtraction of such a proportion of the profits must militate so seriously against the interests of the proprietors as to operate against the shares, into which the capital of the company is divided, being taken up. Both objections are unsound, as a few words will serve to evince. Respecting the latter, it is sufficient to remark, that without recurring to any of the ordinary means of pushing shares into the market; without a single advertisement, or the allotment of an individual share—save in the case of the broker of the Company—to a member of the Stock Exchange, the 10,000 shares have been actually issued to well-known and influential Dissenters throughout the country. Thousands more might have been dis-

posed of in the same way, and to similar parties—so general was the interest felt in the undertaking—and it will be for the proprietors on some future occasion to determine whether it will not be for the interests of the Institution to meet the demand still made for shares by the creation of an increased number. The Deed of Settlement gives the power to do this,—it will be for their wisdom to determine whether they shall avail themselves of it.

Respecting the other objection we remark, that the appropriation of a larger portion of the profits to the 'Ministers' Fund,' would probably have operated against the investment of such a capital as was requisite to insure the commercial integrity of the company, and thus have ruined the whole design. The proportion, therefore, was fixed at a tenth, provision being made by the thirtieth clause of the Deed, empowering the proprietors—while expressly prohibited from diminishing the proportion—to increase it to any extent they may see fit. Less than a tenth can never be so set apart, but more than this may, and we trust will be assigned to the object for which the Institution is formed. It is clearly as yet impossible to predict what will be the *measure* of the company's success. Sanguine anticipations are warranted, but it would be idle to attempt a specification of results. It is obvious, however, to remark, that the peculiar mode in which a large portion of the annual produce of the 'Ministers' Fund' is to be applied, increases vastly the pecuniary benefit conferred on the ministry. Suppose this produce be £500 or £1000. He will fall into a serious error, and will do great injustice to the society, who supposes that this sum represents the amount of the boon conferred. It would undoubtedly do so if the £500 or £1000 in question, were to be distributed in exhibitions of ten, twenty, or of any other given amount. A specific pecuniary contribution would in this case be made, the measure of which could easily be ascertained. But this is not the mode in which the fund in question is to be administered. Half of it, at the least, is to be employed as an inducement—and several cases already prove its efficiency—to churches or individuals to assure their ministers' lives. It thus operates as a motive to an outlay much larger than itself, *and the amount of the benefit conferred must therefore, in all fairness, be taken to be the sum total of all the ministerial policies which it has caused to be taken out.* Five hundred a year thus employed, may easily be made to produce many thousands for the service of the families of our ministers. And it should be remarked, in further elucidation of this plan, that it is the design of the Directors—a design already partially executed—to bring this subject fairly before that section of the religious world, whose welfare they specially seek. While desirous of giving every facility to ministers assuring their own lives, it is their special

aim, to urge upon the elders, deacons, and other leading members of our churches, the obligation under which they are placed to make provision for the comfort of those, who in seeking their spiritual benefit, are neglecting the secular interests of their children. They do not ask our ministers to deny themselves in order to protect their offspring from future want; but they say to the people among whom they labor, the people who share the benefits of their onerous and sanctified labors, 'Show your sense of your pastor's worth; your due appreciation of his services, your attachment to his person, by making some provision, according to the measure of your capability, for the maintenance and comfort of those whom he leaves unfriended and pennyless, in order to serve your good. Relieve his heart from the most painful and distracting of all earthly anticipations, that there may be no conflict in his breast between the feelings of the pastor and those of the parent, — no compunctious visitations lest in seeking your good he may be neglecting the claims of those beloved ones whom providence has made dependent on his care.' Such is the *animus* of the society's operations, and we cannot do better than illustrate it by an extract from a circular, bearing the names of four Directors, Thomas Challis, Joseph Fletcher, Thomas J. Piper, and Thomas Wilson, Esqs., and addressed extensively to the officers and members of our churches.

'In conformity with the general design of the Company,' say the Directors, 'it has been determined to appropriate a portion of its profits to the special benefit of the families of Dissenting Ministers. This is made an integral part of the Constitution of the Company, by being inserted in the Deed of Settlement, and can never, therefore, be departed from by the future Managers of its affairs. Among other ways of appropriating such profits, it is designed to apply them to the reduction of the premiums payable on the policies of Ministers. By this feature of their plan, the annual payment will be gradually diminished, and the sum ultimately required will in consequence, it is hoped, be so small as to bring the advantages of the Institution within the reach of a greatly extended class. It is the hope of the Directors that many Congregations and Churches will thus be induced to assure the lives of their Ministers. Hitherto little attention has been paid to this subject, and the evils which have followed are familiar to all who are acquainted with the Dissenting Body. It is well known that the incomes of Dissenting Ministers are, with few exceptions, barely adequate to the maintenance of their families. The wants of the passing moment may be met, but it is utterly out of their power to make provision for their families, when the Divine Disposer of events shall have summoned them to their reward. Cases of extreme distress are in consequence frequently occurring. The last hours of many Ministers who have laboured diligently, and with success, in their high vocation, are em-

bittered by a foresight of the privations and penury to which their dearest relatives will be subjected, and from which they see no earthly escape. Men of whom the world was not worthy, have sighed in deep bitterness of heart at the utter destitution to which they were leaving their weeping widow and her helpless orphans. The continual occurrence of such cases has long been felt to be a serious evil. It has grown with the extension of the Dissenting Body, and is now universally admitted to call for some vigorous, comprehensive, and speedy remedy. Such a remedy, it is believed, the present Institution will in part supply; and the Directors therefore solicit your zealous co-operation. A few individuals attached to the ministry and person of their pastor may easily realize a sufficient sum to effect an Assurance on his Life. This sum will be reduced from time to time by an appropriation of a portion of the profits of the Company; and the effort which might otherwise in the course of years prove burdensome, will thus be gradually diminished. Little need be said to enforce such an appeal. The voluntary seclusion of many of our Ministers from those paths of honourable pursuit which their talents would enable them successfully to prosecute, gives them and their families a powerful claim on the sympathy and gratitude of their people. If they minister spiritual things, as in many cases they do, to the cost of their families, it surely becomes such as are benefited by their labors to do every thing in their power to free them from anxiety, and to protect their dying hours from the bitterest earthly anticipations which can distract a husband or a father's heart. Allow us then, dear Sirs, to commend this subject to your grave consideration. It would be indelicate in us to do more than lay the case before you. In doing so, we have discharged our duty, and shall be amply recompensed for whatever trouble we may incur, if the Deacons, and other leading members of our Churches, are induced to carry out our suggestions.

Several other topics remain, on all of which we had intended to say something, but our remarks have extended so far beyond our purpose, that we must omit some of them altogether, and only hastily allude to others. The pecuniary integrity of the Company is guaranteed by a capital of one million, which is divided into 10,000 shares of one hundred pounds each. Five pounds per share have been paid up, and the remainder is subject to the call of the Directors in case of need. No person can hold more than a hundred shares, and the great majority of them are distributed in allotments of five, ten, and twenty. The qualification for the Direction is one hundred shares; and the constitution of the Company is thoroughly popular. After the first of January, 1840, a general meeting of the proprietors is to take place annually in the month of April or May, and special meetings are to be convened on the requisition of twenty proprietors, holding not less than ten shares each. The holder of ten shares is entitled to one vote, of thirty, to two; of fifty, to three; and of eighty, to four votes. Proxies may be granted by one proprie-

tor to another, but must be renewed every six months in order to continue in force. It is needless to add, that a certain number of the Directors are to go out annually, and that the election of Directors, and all other matters pertaining to the Company, are in the hands, and subject to the decision of the proprietors.

One word respecting the life rates adopted by the Company, and we will pass on to the only other topic to which we shall advert. 'In calculating the Tables for Life Assurance,' their prospectus states, 'the Directors have adopted the course recommended by Mr. Babbage, as being in their judgment more equitable and business-like than the plan generally adopted. Having ascertained by the calculation of eminent mathematicians 'the real value of the risk, and consequently the amount of premium just sufficient to meet it,' they have added to this 'such a per centage as will defray the expenses of management, and allow of a sufficient dividend to the proprietors, whose capital is 'a guarantee to the assured.' This is clearly the only proper course, and we rejoice that the Directors have had wisdom to adopt it. The per centage they have added is a graduated one, and the result of their calculations is a set of tables standing midway between those of the older offices and the premiums of some younger competitors for public favor. The position they have thus taken up is at once liberal and prudent, and will command the confidence of reflecting men. It has happened with Life Assurance, as with other branches of commerce. The multiplication of traders has awakened a spirit of competition which has led to an improvident and, as we fear, a ruinous reduction of premiums. Terms are offered to the public below what the extent of the risk justifies, and a future failure is thus hazarded, where security—absolute, unerring security, is especially sought. What may be the result, it would be vain to conjecture; but it surely becomes wise men to reflect on the cost at which they effect a small annual saving, by assuring their lives with those offices whose only claim on public support is the low rates at which they issue policies. That their experience may justify the experiment they are making we shall be glad to learn; but it can be regarded only as an experiment, and as such necessarily militates against the security which a Life Assurance gives, and in which its value mainly consists. Two rates of premiums are published by the Dissenters' Company, the one fixed and unvarying, the other susceptible of reduction from an appropriation of the profits of the Company. Persons assuring on the latter table divide equally with the proprietors, the profits of that department of the business; and have the option of receiving their bonus in ready money, or of having it applied to the reduction of their premium, or added, in its *reversionary value*, to their policies. By a recent advertisement, we perceive, that other tables have been prepared, two of which

are specially designed to meet the case of superannuated ministers, and of other professional men. The policies taken out on these tables are made payable on a person attaining the age of sixty, so that provision may thus be easily made for the partial or complete retirement of those who are disqualified by increasing infirmities for the efficient discharge of their duties. The following statement of the distinctive features of the Company which has recently been issued as an advertisement, may appropriately close this part of our paper.

1. One tenth of the entire profits is appropriated by the Deed of Settlement in reducing the premiums payable for insuring the lives of Dissenting and Methodist Ministers, or in other ways similarly beneficial to their families.
2. Certificates of age, and character, and of the amount of loss in case of fire, not required from clergymen or churchwardens.
3. A Table of premiums for policies payable at the age of sixty, or of annuities to commence at that period, suitable to the case of superannuated Ministers, or of other professional men.
4. The lowest rates of premiums consistent with security, and the payment of policies guaranteed by a capital of one million.
5. Two Tables of premiums, the one giving an interest in the profits of the Company, the other not.
6. Every facility given on moderate terms to persons going beyond the prescribed limits of their policy.
7. Premiums may be paid either annually, half yearly, or quarterly, in a limited number of payments, or in one sum.
8. Loans advanced on policies of the value of £50, or policies purchased on liberal terms.
9. All claims payable in three months after satisfactory proof of death, or earlier on deduction of discount.
10. No entrance fee required.'

There is only one other point to which our space permits us to advert, and that very briefly. Our readers may be desirous of knowing how far the support of the Dissenting body has been obtained, and what prospects are afforded of that support being continued and increased. This point has been already adverted to in the commencement of the present article, but we recur to it again in order to furnish more definite and satisfactory information. Upwards of 250 life policies, averaging about £700 each, have been issued during the brief period of the Society's existence, of which more than forty are on the lives of Ministers. In the fire department, the number of policies exceeds 2500, covering nearly £2,000,000 of property. Two hundred and thirty agents have been appointed, and in Bristol and Edinburgh organizations of resident proprietors have been formed. These facts constitute an ample justification of the hopes which prompted the

founders of the Company, and opens up a prospect of successful exertion, which, under the sanction of a favouring providence, cannot fail to be productive of great and lasting benefits. The principles of the Society have been approved, and its objects commended to support, by the resolutions of several of our most influential bodies. To say nothing at present of provincial associations, we should fail in doing justice to our theme, did we not place on record the following votes of the Congregational and Baptist Unions, and of Lady Huntingdon's Connexion.

Baptist Union, May 1st, 1838.

The constitution and claims of the Protestant Dissenters' and General Life and Fire Assurance Company having been explained, it was Resolved unanimously—

That the benevolent feature of the Company, which secures to the families of Dissenting Ministers a portion of its profits, entitles it to the support of the Dissenting Body.

Congregational Union, Friday, 11th May, 1838.

Unanimously resolved—

That the design of the Protestant Dissenters' and General Life and Fire Assurance Company, in extending a knowledge of the advantages of Life Assurance in general, and of the various forms in which provision may thereby be made, by endowments and otherwise, for the benefit of Dissenting Ministers, and their families, is worthy of the attentive consideration of the Churches connected with this Union, and that the benevolent feature of the Company, which secures the appropriation of a portion of its profits to the furtherance and encouragement of this object, in behalf of their Ministers, entitles it to the support of the Dissenting Body at large.

Conference of Lady Huntingdon's Connexion, July 6th, 1838.

The object of the Protestant Dissenters' and General Life and Fire Assurance Company having been introduced to the consideration of the Brethren, it was Resolved unanimously—

That as the constitution and design of the Company offer considerable advantages to the families of Dissenting Ministers, and to the Churches which may entertain the benevolent intention of providing for the widows and children of their several Pastors, this Conference recommend it to the support of the Connexion at large.

As analogous to these resolutions, we must be permitted to transcribe the following brief letter, which, with the subjoined signatures of the Edinburgh Ministers, has been published in several of the Scotch papers.

To Charles Spence, Esq., Agent for Edinburgh.

DEAR SIR,—We have perused the papers you sent us, explaining the objects of the Protestant Dissenters' and General Life and Fire Assurance Company. The favourable aspect this Office wears towards Dissenters,—the high respectability of its Directors,—the numerous classes whose support it is calculated to secure,—the extent of business it is thus likely to transact,—as well as the selected lives which these classes furnish,—unite in recommending this Institution to the favour of Dissenters generally, whose interests, in various ways, it seems highly fitted to advance.

Rev. JOHN BROWN, D.D.

WILLIAM INNES.

C. D. CULLEN.

JAMES ROBERTSON.

HENRY WIGHT.

Rev. JAMES KIRKWOOD.

GEORGE JOHNSTONE.

J. J. BATES.

JOHN M'GILCHRIST.

W. L. ALEXANDER, A.M.

The same letter, addressed to Messrs. Durham and Rough, the Company's agents at Dundee, has been advertised in the papers of that town, with the following signatures of Presbyterian and Independent Ministers.

Rev. DAVID RUSSELL, D.D.

D. K. SHOEBOOTHAM.

MATTHEW FRAZER.

J. CROSS.

Rev. GEORGE GILFILLAN.

SAMUEL SPENCE.

JAMES R. M'GAVIN.

The operations of the Society embrace Fire as well as Life assurances, but we have left ourselves no space to advert to this branch of its business. We, therefore, merely remark in closing, that it affords an opportunity to almost every Dissenter in the kingdom, of contributing something towards that fund from the judicious appropriation of which we anticipate such benefits. Our colleges, and chapels, and school-rooms should, especially, and without delay, be transferred to the Dissenters' Company. Perfectly free from sectarianism—in the reprehensible sense of that word—the Society yet makes its appeal to, and mainly relies for support on, the great, enlightened, and virtuous body of Protestant Dissenters. In the conduct of its business it knows nothing of ecclesiastical distinctions. It opens its doors alike to Churchmen and Dissenters—to Peers and Commoners, and some of both are already ranked among its policy holders; but in the appropriation of a portion of its profits to a specific Dissenting purpose it sustains a character which places it apart from all similar institutions, and gives it an undeniable title to zealous and permanent support.

Art. IV. *The Pictorial History of England, being a History of the People, as well as a History of the Kingdom, illustrated, &c.* Pp. 907. London: Knight and Co. 1839. Vol. II.

IF a great book be really a great evil, Mr. Knight has much to answer for. We are not inclined, however, to adopt this dogma without considerable limitation. Mr. Knight's great book contains a great deal of useful matter, and much curious embellishment, which altogether, could not without detriment have been compressed into a smaller compass; and that being the case, we do not see why one great book should be a *greater* evil than two of half the size. If we were put to our mettle, we think we could go far towards proving it to be a less; were it only for reasons of which publishers are well aware, and which purchasers would soon discover.

We like pictorial history. The marriage of history and of art is legitimate and natural; 'each gives each a double charm,' while one informs the understanding, the other cultivates the taste, and brings more vividly before us the doers and the deeds, that are distinguished for good or evil in the annals of our race. Old places and old faces with whose history we are familiar, come back upon us with a kind of feeling, as though we had existed once among them, and had a dreamy recollection of their aspects. And how much more interested do we feel in the event, when the authentic portrait has enabled us to imagine the very look and bearing with which the noble rushed to battle, or the confessor came forth to a sublimer strife, and bore his chains and tortures till he was 'free among the dead!'

The manner in which the work is divided, is undoubtedly calculated to enhance its value and effect, and more than any other method of arrangement, will enable the reader to apprehend and retain the facts and spirit of its pages. Separate parts are allotted to political and military affairs: religion; the state of the people; the progress of the arts and sciences, &c.: and, as all these topics are seldom equally important or equally known to any individual, he may select or leave at pleasure. To any one who wished to read the *whole*, this method *might* be liable to one objection; to us, at least, it would. As every part must of necessity include the whole of a given period, the reader must constantly retrace his former steps, and go over, in a manner, the same ground again; the subjects presented to him will at every return be different, yet they are and must be so blended with others already known, as to produce a feeling of tedium and sameness, which had better be avoided.

It is like taking several journeys through a country: one to behold its mountains, another for its valleys, and a third for its

lakes and rivers. New objects would each time be pointed out, but yet so mixed with old ones, that the charm of perfect novelty would be lost, and the whole would verge upon monotony. There would be advantages no doubt; you need not climb the mountain, when you desired only to tread the valley, nor be hurried across the country amidst dust and noise, when you wished to steal in quiet by the gentle river's course.

Our objection would be a slight one, even to ourselves; to others it might be none at all, and we admit the evident advantages of the plan before us. It was adopted by Voltaire in his 'Age of Louis the Fourteenth,' and by Henry in his 'History of England.' These are good authorities, and experience confirms their judgment. To us, as critics, the method offers some facilities of which we shall undoubtedly avail ourselves.

The political and military history we are not much inclined to notice; they are probably already sufficiently known to our readers, and are precisely those parts which can afford no parallel, and therefore no lesson, for the affairs of common life. War, and slaughter, and hollow negotiation, may form an interesting study for the statesman; not for imitation, but for warning, were he wise enough to take it; but the story has been told so often since the beginning of the world, that its moral is lost, or pointless.

We like, and we confess it, to read of ably planned campaigns and well fought battles; of the combinations and the stratagems by which high intellect and consummate skill and bravery have forced their way through fearful opposition; forgetful, for the moment, of the dreadful price at which success was purchased, perhaps too callous altogether to the misery inflicted—because we did not share it: and it is precisely because, in spite of our better judgment, we have these likings, and because we believe them to be general, and in some degree inherent in our nature, that we deprecate the manner in which these atrocities are dwelt upon in history; and the baneful and factitious lustre that is studiously thrown around the gifted destroyers of our race, who have perverted the highest talents, and the amplest power of doing good, to the lowest and most baneful ends. But they have done it—and here lies the evil—secure of the applauses of mankind. Hence arises the endless train of aspirants to the same bad eminence; and we believe, that if the exploits of every hero that has existed could be blotted from the records of the world, though the page of history might dazzle less, the interests of humanity would be consulted more.

Of these things, then, the less we say the better; we turn in preference to the progress of the liberal arts, and of civilization and domestic comfort, among all classes of the people.

The interval between the accession of Henry the Fourth and that of Henry the Seventh, was unfavourable to the cultivation of

the human mind. The peaceful pursuits of literature and art could scarcely be followed with advantage, while the sword ruled, and the 'noise of battle hurtled in the air' from one end of the kingdom to the other; and when to espouse the interests of one of the conflicting parties, was the only way to escape from the violence of both. The comparative tranquillity of the reign of Henry the Fifth was too brief for the restoration of the exhausted energies of the country; and whatever demonstrations of improvement might have appeared during his short and uneasy reign, were speedily swallowed up in the chaos of a civil war. The reformation only was working its unwearied way, but its energies were more than human. The cloister, the natural retreat of learning in these semi-barbarous times, might be supposed inviolable, but it was not always so. The licentious soldiers of Queen Margaret had been promised the plunder of the country, and in their march towards London, after the battle of Wakefield, in the beginning of the civil war, they availed themselves of the full extent of their privilege, and exercised it with such strict impartiality, that they spared neither priest nor layman, neither hearth nor shrine; and their example was not lost on others. The men who could, and who under other circumstances would, have been the patrons of science and of learning, were compelled by the destiny of their iron times, to devote their chief attention to the arts of war. At fifteen, a nobleman was expected to appear in the field, and make his first assay of arms; and what with watching and privation, the arrow and the sword, 'few heads were sil-vered underneath the helmet;' and if these means of death were not sufficient, the axe came in to their assistance. Two of the most accomplished noblemen, and the greatest patrons of learning of their time, perished on the scaffold towards the termination of the civil war;—the celebrated Earl of Worcester, put to death during the temporary restoration of Henry the Sixth, by the Earl of Warwick; and Earl Rivers, formerly Lord Scales, beheaded at Pomfret Castle, with Lord Grey and Sir Thomas Vaughan, by order of Richard the Third, then Duke of Gloucester. Both of these noblemen were patrons of Caxton. It is a melancholy task to turn over the biographies of illustrious men in former times, and observe how few of them arrived at the natural age of man. There are periods in the history of our country (and not of ours only, or chiefly) in which among certain classes, it amounted almost to a distinction for a man to die in his bed.*

* It appears to have been a distinction that was not always coveted. The Douglas who fell at Otterburn is said to have thanked God, that he lost his life in the field as his fathers did; among whom it was not the fashion to die in their beds.

The human mind, however, can never be inactive, and, therefore, never stationary; and through all the darkness of these dreadful times, we occasionally catch a glimpse and foresight of better things and brighter days.

We have spoken thus, the rather, because we think that the state of the times has not been sufficiently dwelt upon as one of the causes of the neglect of literature. It could scarcely be, that the value of learning was not appreciated, while such lavish means were provided for its propagation; though its professors were comparatively unrewarded. This, indeed, is conceded, and we think justly.

‘In the fifteenth century, nearly forty new universities were founded in the different countries of Europe. In our own, several new colleges were added both to Oxford and Cambridge.’ In Oxford, Lincoln, All Souls, and Magdalen, besides the new schools for lectures in metaphysics, natural and moral philosophy, &c., and a divinity school and public library. In Cambridge, King’s College and Queen’s College, founded by Henry the Sixth and Margaret of Anjou; Catharine Hall, and public schools. The school at Eton also was founded by King Henry, and intended as a nursery for his college.

The following passage may convey some notion of the decline of literature, the shifts to which educated men were reduced, and the manner in which they were sometimes treated.

‘According to an oration delivered before the Pope and Cardinals, by Richard Fitz-Ralph, Archbishop of Armagh, in 1357, the 30,000 students of the University of Oxford, had even by that time decreased to 6,000. The popular veneration for learning had also, from various causes, undergone a corresponding decline; and we encounter occasional instances of the votaries of science and letters begging their bread, and their inappreciated acquirements turned into matter of ridicule and mockery, by the insolence of rank and wealth. Anthony Wood, the quaint historian of the University of Oxford, relates a story of two itinerating students of this age, who, having one day presented themselves at a baronial castle, and sought an introduction by the exhibition of the academical credentials, in which they were each described as gifted, among other accomplishments, with a poetical vein, were ordered by the Baron to be suspended in a pair of buckets over a draw-well, and dipped alternately into the water, until each should produce a couplet on his awkward situation. It was not till after a considerable number of duckings, that the unfortunate captives finished the rhymes, while their involuntary ascents and descents, during the process of concoction, were heartily enjoyed by the Baron and his company. It would be unfair, indeed, to judge of the general state of things by one or two anecdotes of this kind, although such consequences are only what might be expected when scholars took to perambulating the country as mendicants, with recommendations to the

charity of the benevolent by the chancellors of their Universities, as we are assured was now become customary ; but the circumstances of our own country at least, in this age, must have proved in no small degree depressing to all liberal pursuits.'—pp. 196, 197.

If the foregoing statements be correct, there might, we think, be other causes for the destitution of literary men, besides 'a general indifference' to literature. If there were 30,000 students at Oxford only, or even 6,000, we should conceive the supply to have been immeasurably disproportioned to the demand. According to the returns for a capitation tax, in the last year of Edward the Third, the whole population of England (and Wales we suppose) did not amount to more than two millions and a half; twenty years ago, when we knew Oxford, the number of students of all ranks used to be calculated at about 2,000 ; at Cambridge, perhaps, not quite so many, certainly not more ; and at that time the population of England and Wales was probably about eight millions.

Causes, various and powerful, had however been at work, to humanize the minds of men ; and the introduction of the literature of the East, was one important step towards the civilization and refinement of the Western world. Previous to the conquest of Constantinople by Mahomet the Second, in 1453, some intercourse had existed between the Byzantine empire and the kingdoms of the West ; but by the destruction of that empire, 'a crowd of illustrious exiles were driven into Italy. The Cardinal Bessarion, Theodore Gaza, George of Trebisonde, John Argyropulus, Demetrius Chalcondyles, Janus Lascaris, and others, some of whom taught their native language in the Universities and chief towns of that country, while the rest, by their translations, by their writings, and their converse with the public mind in various ways, assisted in diffusing a taste for it, and a knowledge of it even beyond the Alps.' Pope Nicholas the Fifth, was one of the greatest patrons of Greek literature, and Cosmo de Medicis corresponded at once with Cairo and London, and a cargo of Indian spices and Greek books, was often imported in the same vessel. His active missionary, Janus Lascaris, returned from the East with a treasure of 200 manuscripts, four score of which were as yet unknown in the libraries of Europe.'—pp. 200, 201.

His family trod worthily in his steps, and Lorenzo de Medici and Leo the Tenth, were not behind the founder of their house, in their patronage of literature and learned men. The passion for the collection of manuscripts was not however confined to crowned heads, or merchant princes. At the revival of letters it became the principal occupation of learned men ; some of whom exhausted their fortunes in journeys, and the purchase of expensive manuscripts, either imported from the East, or discovered in

the monasteries of Europe. In the latter were found many, if not most, of the works of the Latin authors, with whom we are now acquainted, and from the holes and corners in which they were discovered, but little value appears to have been placed upon them.

D'Israeli has the following passage on this point. 'That the monks had not in high veneration the *profane* authors, appears by a facetious anecdote. To read the classics was considered as a very idle recreation, and some held them in great horror. To distinguish them from other books, they invented a disgraceful sign: when a monk asked for a pagan author, after making the general sign they used in their manual and silent language when they wanted a book, he added a particular one, which consisted in scratching under his ear, as a dog which feels an itching, scratches himself in that place with his paw, because, said they, an unbeliever is compared to a dog! In this manner they expressed an *itching* for those *dogs*, Virgil or Horace!'

Up to this time, mankind were in extremes. In literature, as in political relation, there was scarcely a *middle class*. The writers of the time divide the population generally into 'the learned and 'the lewd,' meaning by the latter term, not morally impure, but ignorant, uncultivated. The time from which the masses should begin to be enlightened, and the means by which it should be done were at hand, when the art of printing was discovered, that is, of printing by means of moveable types; for the art of taking impressions from blocks of wood, was known long before. The author agrees with what we believe is now the generally received opinion, that Guttenberg was the first inventor of printing with moveable types. Schoeffer appears to have the credit of inventing the method of 'casting type by means of a matrix.'

'The art of printing had been practised nearly thirty years in Germany, before it was introduced either into England or France—with so tardy a pace did knowledge travel to and fro over the earth in those days, or so unfavourable was the state of these countries for the reception of even the greatest improvements in the arts. At length a citizen of London secured a conspicuous place to his name for ever in the annals of our national literature, by being, as far as is known, the first of his countrymen that learned the new art, and certainly the first who either practised it in England, or in printing an English book. William Caxton was born, as he tells us himself, in the Weald of Kent, it is supposed about the year 1412. Thirty years after this date, his name is found among the members of the Mercers' Company in London. Later in life, he appears to have repeatedly visited the Low Countries, at first, probably, on business of his own, but afterwards in a sort of public capacity,—having in 1464, been commissioned, with another person, apparently also a merchant, by Edward the Fourth, to negotiate a commercial treaty with the Duke of Bur-

gundy. He was afterwards taken into the household of Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy. It was while resident in the Low Countries, that he commenced practising the art of printing. The year 1474, is assumed as the date of the introduction of the art into this country. It is certainly known, that Caxton had come to England in 1477, and had set up his press in the Almonry, near Westminster Abbey, where he printed that year in folio, 'The Dictes and Notable Wyse Sayenges of the Phylosophers,' translated from the French, by Anthony Woodville, Earl Rivers. From this time Caxton continued both to print and translate, with indefatigable industry, till after the close of the present period, his last publication with a date having been produced in 1490, and his death having probably taken place in 1491 or 1492. Before he died, he saw the admirable art which he had introduced into his native country, already firmly established there, and the practice of it extensively diffused. Theodore Rood, John Lettow, William Machelina, and Wynkyn de Worde, foreigners, and Thomas Hunt, an Englishman, all printed in London, both before and after Caxton's death. It is probable, that the foreigners had been his assistants, and were brought into the country by him.—pp. 201, 202.

The literature of this first period was not eminent in merit. After Chaucer, the principal poets were Occleve and Lydgate; the latter by far the better writer, and more learned man; and James the First of Scotland, a better poet than either, also flourished at the beginning of the fifteenth century. Several of the chroniclers belong to this period. Of those who wrote in Latin, Walsingham, Otterbourne, John de Wethamstede, Titus Livius, William of Worcester, and Rouse. Of writers in English, John de Trevisa, Hardyng, Caxton, and Fabyan; and in France, during the time of the English supremacy, Monstrelet and Comines. There are many specimens of the English of the time, both in verse and prose; we can give but one, and our known devotion to our fair countrywomen has induced us to extract the following. It is from Caxton's 'Book of th' enseynements and 'techynges that the Knight of the Tower made to his Daughters,' translated from the French by Caxton himself, in 1483, and, therefore, curious.

'How a Woman ought to obeye her Husband in all thynges honest.

'I wold ye knewe wel the tale and example of the Lady, which dayned not to come to her dyner for any commandement that her lord coud make to her, and so many tyme he sent for her, that at the last whanne he sawe she wold not come at his commandement, he made to com be fore hym his swyneherd, he that kept his swynes, whiche was foule and ouermoche hydous, and bad hym fetch the clowte of the Kechyn, wherwith men wye dysshes and platers. And thenne he made a table or bord to be dressyd before hys wyf, and made it to be

couerd with the sayde cloute, and commanded to his swyneherd to sytte besyde her, and thenne he sayd thus to her. Lady yf ye ne wylle ete with me, ne come at me, ne come at my commandement, ye shalle have the kepar of my swyne to hold you company and good felauship, and this cloute to wype your handes withal. And whenne she that thenne was sore ashamed and more wrothe than she was tofore, saw and knewe that her lord mocked her, refreyned her proude herte and knewe her folly. Therfor a woman ought not in no wyse to refuse to come at the commandement of her lord, yf she will haue and kepe his loue and pees. And also by good reason humylyte ought to come fyrste to the woman, for euer she ought to shewe herself meke and humble toward her lord.'—p. 221.

It will appear, then, that this period of our history was more distinguished by providing for the future advancement of learning than for the present enjoyment of its advantages.

Of the state of the arts and sciences but little can be said. About this time, or somewhat before, a different style had been introduced in architecture; the second style or decorated English had made way for the perpendicular, of which a description and illustrations are given; but as this is a subject to which we have not turned our attention, we shall not venture an opinion on it. The sister arts of music and painting were quite in their infancy, and a very rickety infancy it was. The study of alchemy and the search for the philosopher's stone, were carried on with great vigour, and under royal auspices.

There are many things in the account of the customs and manners of the people which are curious, but which we cannot transfer to our pages. Some of the costumes are worthy of notice, but of these, of course, no description can be given. One of the most extraordinary things relating to our ancestors, was their capacity for eating and drinking. The quantity of provisions at some of their feasts on state occasions, is almost beyond belief; though their private refectations appear to have been quite in keeping. The two meals a day introduced at the Norman conquest, had now been increased to four; breakfast, taken at seven in the morning; dinner, at ten; supper, at four in the afternoon; and *liveries*, which consisted of a collation taken *in bed*, between eight and nine in the evening. 'The Earl Percy and his Countess at this meal, had two manchetts (loaves of the finest flour, weighing six ounces each), a loaf of household bread, a gallon of beer, and a quart of wine; the latter beverage being warmed and spiced.' If they really imbibed all this drink, or but one half of it, nothing could have beaten them but a sponge. The clergy were no whit behind the laity; the seculars, to make up for the want of other opportunities, instituted what were called *glutton-masses*; at which the inhabitants of all the neighbouring villages were made to attend, *laden with provisions*; which, as

soon as mass had been hurried over, were attacked with right good will by flock and pastors, and the simple people were made to believe, that all this was done *in honour of the Virgin!*

‘In the fifteenth century the town-houses, or *inns*, as they were called, of the nobility, were of great extent; a fact which might be inferred from the modern acceptation of the word. At a meeting of the great estates of the realm in 1457,* Richard Duke of York came with 400 men, who were lodged in Baynard’s Castle; the Earl of Salisbury with 500 men on horseback, lodged in the Herber, a house at Dowgate, belonging to the Earl of Warwick, who lodged himself, with 600 men, at his *inn*, in Warwick Lane; where, says Stowe, ‘there were oftentimes six oxen eaten at a breakfast.’ The names of their noble owners are still attached to the sites of several of their inns, of which even now the plans are in some degree preserved, in their modern adaptation as Inns of Law, but we shall in vain seek for any vestiges of their original structures. A portion of one building only of this class has been preserved; the magnificent house erected by Sir John Crosby, an Alderman of London in 1466, which Stowe describes as ‘very large and beautiful, and the highest at that time in London.’

—p. 230.

The inadequate supply of surgeons—such as they were—in the armies, must have led to a great waste of life.

‘It appears from a record in the *Fœdera*, that, in Henry the Fifth’s army which won the battle of Agincourt, there was only one surgeon, a certain John Morstede; fifteen assistants, whom he had pressed (!) under a royal warrant, not having yet landed. Of these assistants, three were also to act as archers; the whole number having the pay of common archers, and Morstede himself only that of a man at arms.’

—p. 208.

Sumptuary laws were very common, and so it appears was the breach of them.

The last division of the volume comprises the period from the accession of Henry the Seventh to the end of Elizabeth; a period full of interest and crowded with events, which we cannot pretend so much as to allude to; which multiply and spread with the proofs and documents concerning them, just as the descending stream grows wider in its course. During the reign of Henry the Seventh new prospects were opened to the world at large; and a new policy was pursued at home, which, though the tyranny of the sword was abolished, established the despotism of the sceptre; till the prerogative of the Tudors rose above all law, and the nobles and the people were prostrated beneath it.

* Stowe.

Three great events are chiefly to be noticed. The discovery of the passage by sea to India, by Vasco de Gama, the hero of the *Lusiad*; that of the new world, by Columbus;* and the Reformation. The two first threw open two new worlds to the enterprise of nations (for the traffic with India overland, was comparatively inconsiderable), and poured the wealth of the East and Western continents on Europe: the last set wide the prison doors of the human intellect, and gave that freedom to the mind of man, without which external wealth and comfort would be useless, or would only gild in mockery the chains they could not break.

The feudal system had been abolished, the nobles had lost a great proportion of the power they once enjoyed, and the people, though freed from bondage, had not yet acquired a consciousness of their strength, or wanted, perhaps, the union to render it effective. Under these circumstances, the crown was, to every practical purpose, all in all; and Henry the Eighth might have said, with at least as much of truth as Louis the Fourteenth, 'I am the state.' If this, in many ways was detrimental, in one, and that of paramount importance, it was not only beneficial, but the one thing needful. Nothing short of absolute prerogative could have availed to bring about the Reformation in England at the time, and in the manner in which it was effected. Though Luther had committed the good seed to the winds of heaven, and the mind of civilized Europe was broken up and open to receive it, *our* harvest would have been comparatively tardy, if Henry had not brought it to perfection. To prevent the Reformation was impossible; it was ready in its power, like the avalanche on high, but waited for the impulse of a single voice to give it motion. Though it was put in action, however, by the exercise of arbitrary power, it could not so be stopped; and the author very properly remarks, that the reign of Mary did more to forward it, than that of her brother Edward.

As Christianity, however, brought a sword on earth, so did the reformation of it; not merely in the shape of persecution for conscience' sake, but, as it induced a struggle between light and darkness, both in the religious and the political horizon. Enlightenment of mind in a people, and irresponsible power in a sovereign, are inimical; and towards the latter end of the reign of the 'maiden Queen,' they began to place themselves in obvious opposition. Tyranny from power is hard to bear, but tyranny from weakness is insupportable. The nation took the liberty of impressing this lesson on the race of Stuart, and the long struggle

* There is an odd line in Mr. Montgomery's poem of the 'West Indies.' Speaking of the New World, he calls it, 'The maiden world, twin sister of the old.' Of course, then, *an old maid*.

ended by the settlement of a limited monarchy, and the passing of the bill of rights.

During most of this period learning continued to advance, though more per saltum than by regular progression; retrograding at times, and then, more than recovering the ground which it had lost. Both before and after the Reformation, colleges continued to be founded at Oxford and at Cambridge, in which the new learning, as it was called (that is, Greek, and the Latin poets), was taught; though not without considerable opposition from the lovers of old ways and things. The improvement of the middle and lower classes does not seem to have kept pace with the progress of learning; most of the individuals composing them signing with their mark, as being unable to write their names. The father of Shakespear could do no more. In the Court of Elizabeth, the French and Italian languages were spoken; sometimes the Spanish. Of the great men of the times it is impossible even to state the names; nor is it necessary here. Of the literature of this period we have no room for specimens; it went on to refine and gather strength: and the tongue that could suffice for Shakespear could scarcely need improvement.

Trade and commerce appear to have gradually increased; and the population in the two last centuries had nearly doubled, amounting in 1377, to two millions and a half; in 1575, to near five millions.

In architecture, the Tudor style predominated, the Gothic having given place to it; and the fine arts received an impulse (which has never since subsided) in the reign of Henry the Eighth, principally from the residence of distinguished foreigners in this country, among whom Holbein, Mabuse, and Torregiano were the chief. There was a curious painting found in the collection of Henry the Eighth at his death, called, 'A table (painting on pannel) of the Bussopp of Rome, *the four Evangelists casting stones at him.*'*

* The Church of Rome and the Church of England can bring forward strong arguments in their own favour. Here are two, which we think must produce *some effect* on our readers.

'The beneficial influence of the Catholic religion on the fine arts, and on poetry, has been rarely disputed, even by her bitterest opponents. * * * This very superiority in art would incline one to believe (what? does the reader think—that Catholics worship pictures, and, therefore, pay high for them; no, indeed, but) *the superiority of this religion* AS A DOCTRINAL SYSTEM! Dublin Review (a Catholic work), February, 1839. Art. Life and Writings of Görres.

We ourselves were lately present where a clergyman (an evangelical clergyman) took for his text that passage in St. Jude, 'These be they who separate themselves, sensual, having not the Spirit;' which no doubt, he said, included those who separated themselves from the Church of England.

Henry had designed for himself and Queen Jane Seymour a most sumptuous monument, with one hundred and thirty-three statues, and forty-three bas-reliefs, all in bronze; by Benedetto Rovezzano, whose design was preferred to Bandinelli's. As Henry's power of shortening wives and ministers by the head departed with his life, his tomb was not completed after his death, and the figures were melted by order of the parliament in 1646. In the reign of Elizabeth, England was visited by Lucas de Heere, Cornelius Vroom, and Frederic Zuccaro, who painted the celebrated portrait of the Queen, which is engraved in this volume. England had also of her own, Nicolas Hilliard, and Isaac Oliver, his pupil, who excelled his master.

That our readers may know how to be thankful for their privileges, we shall just give two short quotations more: one to exemplify the coolness with which the difference between meum and tuum was disregarded in former times; the other, to show with how small a portion of personal luxury our forefathers were contented.

'The same writer (Stowe) relates an anecdote which may not be out of its place here. It is curious in more respects than one, but especially as it shows the antiquity of a feat in mechanics which has attracted some attention in our own time. The Earl of Essex (Cromwell) having built a mansion in Throgmorton Street, and finding it pressed upon by a house in the rear, caused the said house to be loosened from its foundations, placed upon rollers, and backed twenty-two feet into a garden belonging to the father of the antiquary, who, in common with the owners of the adjoining gardens, lost his land, without notice, and without compensation; and 'no man,' says Stowe, 'durst go to argue the matter.'—p. 850.

In these days, the less they said the better they did. Now, as to the second point.

'Our fathers,' says Harrison, 'yea, and we ourselves, have lain full oft upon straw palletts, on rough mats, covered only with a sheet, under coverlets made of dog's-wayne, or hop-harlot, and a good round log laid under their heads, instead of a bolster or pillow. And if the good man of the house within seven years after his marriage, purchased a matrass or a flock-bed, and thereto a sack of chaff to rest his head on, he thought himself as well lodged as the Lord of the town.'

—p. 881.

Certainly, light does break in upon us very unexpectedly sometimes, we never thought of this before; yet, surely no one who is read at all in history can doubt, that the apostle, when he wrote this verse, had the Church of England in his eye!

We know of one other proposition only that can equal these, and they ought to go together. Given—the number of a ship's crew, and the weight of her guns; required—the Captain's name.

Rejoice, ladies and gentlemen, in your feather beds and pillows!

We have now only to speak of the execution of the work, which is very creditable to all concerned. The different styles would have shown that it was by several hands; and no one head could well have brought together such a mass of multifarious knowledge. We have not devoted any portion of our space to the political and military transactions, and we, therefore, feel ourselves obliged to say, that we consider that portion also of the history to be very well got up. The descriptions are very clear and graphic, particularly of the battles; we may name those of Agincourt and Flodden as examples. We object, however, to one or two expressions in the account of the former, as much beneath the style of history. To say, in speaking of the attack of the Duke of Alençon on King Henry, '*He hit him over the head, and knocked off part of his crown,*' is strikingly inelegant at least; and it rather grates upon our sympathies to see the most extraordinary victory in our history, related in the language of '*the ring.*' We mention this because such faults are easily avoided. The authorities consulted are numerous and good, some of them new; and no pains appear to have been spared in getting up the volume. But surely there should have been an index; we have lost some time in finding passages to which we wished to turn.

Thus much for the literary portion of the work; of the embellishments we are sorry that we cannot speak with unqualified approbation. A line sufficiently distinct, with few exceptions, may be drawn between the portraits, and the architectural and antiquarian illustrations. The drawing of many of the portraits is very faulty, and the execution is characterized by great stiffness and hardness; in many cases too, it is very mechanical. In short, there is too much of the engraver to be seen, and too little of the designer. It seems as if the effect desired was merely indicated to the former, and he was left to produce it as he pleased; and he has done it in the easiest way. We are sorry to see our old friends with such new faces. If Lady Jane Grey had been made from the same timber as the block on which she was beheaded, she could not have looked more wooden than her portrait. Ann of Cleves is a libel on Holbein's portrait, as engraved by Houbraken; and her eyes are bent on vacancy, as though she had lost her wits, and was looking after them. Mary Queen of Scots, and Queen Elizabeth, are represented with stout pug noses, emanating from the middle of their faces, and unconnected with their foreheads by any earthly tie. In the Dalmahoy portrait of Mary, which is considered the most authentic, there is no want of nose, of a somewhat Grecian shape, but rather longer; and the portrait of Elizabeth, by Zuccaro, from which the en-

graving before us is copied, has a nose approaching to the Roman of very fair dimensions. In fact, these likenesses are no more like the portraits from which they are said to be copied, 'than we 'to Hercules'—a resemblance by no means striking.

The gentlemen fare better than the ladies. Philip the Second is a fine head, though rather hard; Edward the Fifth is better, and more like a drawing than most of the others; and Edward the Sixth, from Chamberlayne's drawing after Holbein, preserves the likeness, though with rather too old a look; and the drapery is easy and well done. It is but fair to Mr. Knight to express our suspicion, that our impression of the engravings is not a good one.

With the architectural, and some of the other embellishments, a different system has been pursued; especially as regards the interiors. In these, the artist appears to have drawn the lines himself, and the engraver to have merely cut away the wood; and the result is *what it always ought to be*, a fine impression of the drawing. We may specify the gate of King's College, Cambridge; the interior of Henry the Seventh's Chapel, with the brass screen before the tomb, is very fine; and some others. The battle of the Spurs, and two or three illustrations of that kind, are also very good: but our favourite, as uniting each of these styles, and superior in both, is the trial of Lambert before King Henry; which in conception, execution, and effect, is admirable. If some of the minor illustrations (such as that of drawing criminals to execution), where fidelity of representation is the only thing of consequence, were more *lightly* done, and greater care in drawing and finishing were bestowed upon the portraits, the result, we think, would be a higher degree of merit in the more important parts, and a subjection and relief in the adjuncts or accessories, which would be very beneficial to the whole.

Now, gentle reader, if you wish for a history of your country well planned and well executed, containing a great deal that is worth knowing, and rendered striking by numberless illustrations, here is one to your purpose. Mr. Knight in the legislative, and his able coadjutors in the executive departments, have deserved well at your hands. They have presented you with a very instructive and interesting volume. Like every thing else in this world, it might in some respects be better; but if you wait for perfection—you will wait in vain.

Art. V. *A Narrative.* By SIR FRANCIS B. HEAD, Bart. London : John Murray. 1839.

SIR FRANCIS HEAD has taken the opportunity afforded him by the publication of Lord Durham's report on the affairs of British North America, to bring before the public such documents in reference to his administration of the government of Upper Canada, as he deems necessary to vindicate himself from the implied censure of his removal from office, and the direct charges involved in the statements of Lord Durham. His work consists of extracts from his despatches, accompanied by an elucidatory narrative ; and a more extraordinary production, considering the rank of the author, and the circumstances under which the greater part of the volume was originally written, certainly was never presented to the public. The style and matter are alike unique, and bear the same relation to the statesmanlike dignity which ought to have characterized such documents, as his previous accounts of his gallop across the Pampas, and of his visit to the German Spas, bore to history. The despatches are just what might have been expected in a series of familiar letters from an imaginative and superficial traveller to a friend in England ; but the qualities which would render such epistles interesting, are not precisely those which we have a right to expect in communications from the Governor of an important province, to the head of the Colonial department of the Empire.

The Narrative, however, is not without its share of interest, and even of importance. It contains Sir Francis's own statement of that policy which aggravated discontent into treason, and drove a party to rebellion in despair of obtaining redress by constitutional means. It is not often that such an opportunity is afforded the public of deciding upon the true character of proceedings whose results are so disastrous. In this point of view we propose to regard the work in question ; and although we may furnish grounds for doubting the accuracy of some statements which Sir Francis has now thought proper to advance, and may supply many defects in the train of narration, we shall in all cases confine ourselves in our present estimate of the measures of the gallant Governor, either to the volume before us, or to documents proceeding from, or sanctioned by the author.

Sir Francis appears throughout rather disposed to take credit to himself, as though, by a decided and uncompromising opposition to the principles of the reforming party in Upper Canada, and by rigidly excluding from every office all who were in any way connected with that party, he had compelled the reformers to unmask themselves, and appear in their true character of republicans and traitors. Allowing for the moment that the assumption implied

in this boast as to the real objects and character of the reform party in that province, is well-founded; which, however, is far from being the case; we may unhesitatingly affirm that nothing could be more foolish than to force a number of men to commit themselves openly to the assertion and maintenance of any such extreme opinions. In every country, and in all times, there are numerous individuals who object not merely to the manner in which the affairs of the nation are administered, but to the constitution of the government itself. No form of government, and no apportionment of political power can satisfy all classes; and in the freest, no less than in the most despotic communities, numbers will always be found who speculatively object to the established order of things, and would regard with complacency whatever changes might bring the constitution into accordance with their views. Until a government shall be formed which all men shall agree to pronounce perfect, dissatisfaction, and a desire of change will exist; but it is found in practice that the differences of opinion which prevail, are perfectly compatible with the peaceable administration of the government, and that extreme doctrines can co-exist with very moderate conduct. To drive all men, if it were possible, to reduce every one of their opinions to practice, would be to overturn every existing institution, and to subvert the very foundation of social order, which is established upon the understood compromise of all these opinions. Undoubtedly, merely speculative doctrines *may* become dangerous. If men are driven to extremities—proscribed as traitors—held up to public execration, as rebels in intention, if not in act—permanently excluded from every post of trust and honor—denied the protection of the law, and treated in all respects as though they were entitled to none of the privileges of citizenship under a constitution which they desired to modify; it is very possible that they might seek to give effect to their views, and to introduce by force the changes to which they were attached in theory. But the risks of any such step are of a character to restrain men of common prudence from the attempt, except under extraordinarily favorable circumstances. Either the number of the discontented must be so great as to afford a fair prospect of overbearing all resistance; or the weakness and folly of the government must be so apparent, as to render it probable that no resistance, or none that can be effectual, will be attempted; before any party, however discontented or violent, will venture upon open rebellion. When, therefore, rebellion does actually occur, we may assume, either that the measures of government have been so flagitious as to unite the greater part of its subjects in opposition, or that there is so manifest an imbecility in its conduct, and such a want of judgment and skill in its councils, as to inspire the few that are discontented with that confidence which

springs from a consideration of the weakness of the opposing force.

There is yet, however, another method by which rebellion may be provoked. If a governor, in impatience of constitutional opposition to his will, employs all the means at his disposal to harass and irritate his political opponents; if by every method he endeavours to drive them to desperation, and at the same time puts on an appearance of feebleness and unpreparedness; so that while the opposition is stimulated by the sense of wrong, it may be encouraged by the apparent facility of obtaining redress,—a rebellion would be the natural result of his measures. This, if we may judge from the narrative before us, was the policy of Sir Francis Head. Of its criminality there can be but one opinion. Its expediency, (using that term in its conventional sense, as contradistinguished from justice,) must depend upon the completeness of the measures adopted to crush the insurgents. Supposing that these measures are effectual; that the most active and energetic of the men thus led into rebellion, are put to death, and their followers deprived of all future opportunity of giving effect to their obnoxious opinions; so that the party with which the Governor has allied himself is permanently and tranquilly established in the possession of power, such a procedure admits of an intelligible justification. But to tempt a rebellion, when no preparation has been made to encounter and overcome the rebels; to allow the leaders to escape, and wreak a disappointed vengeance upon some of the deluded followers; to excite a contest which there are no means of allaying; to act, that is, as Sir Francis represents himself to have acted in Upper Canada, is to display greater folly than wickedness, and to provoke contempt even more than disgust. If Sir Francis had in truth pursued such a course of policy as he now describes, it would be difficult to discover appropriate language in which to characterize his proceedings. But he is by no means the Machiavel that he would fain represent himself to have been. He was more surprised and terrified than probably any other man in the province, by the rebellion. When, however, owing to the foresight and courage of abler and braver men than himself, the danger which he feared to face was averted, he was willing to make himself responsible for the criminality of having encouraged a rebellion, rather than be exposed to the charge of weakness and blindness in having suffered it to take him unprepared. So true is it that weak men would always rather be considered as wicked than as foolish, forgetting that in such cases, wickedness is the very worst species of folly.

We have neither space nor inclination to pursue Sir Francis through his narrative, in order to expose the misstatement and contradiction with which it abounds. This would in fact be an

almost interminable task. There is scarcely a single matter of any moment which is not presented under different and often contradictory aspects in the narrative and despatches. Facts, or what are stated to be such, are brought forward in this work for the first time; though, if they had occurred as he has described them, it was imperative upon him to have made the government at home acquainted with the circumstance. Men whom he now describes as avowed republicans, and as from the first attempting to deceive him, are spoken of in the despatches as persons of high character, and of undoubted intelligence and integrity. Important facts are wholly omitted, or are garbled and distorted. The proof of many of these charges is already before the public; and for further evidence we refer our readers to the volume itself; especially to those parts of the narrative which contain the account of his first interview with the leaders of the reform party, as compared with his statements in the despatches; and to the whole account of his negotiations with the new members whom he appointed to the Executive Council. We must, however, here confine ourselves to a brief sketch of the character and results of his policy. We are the more induced to pursue this course, because Sir Francis's administration has been adopted by the Tories as an embodiment of their principle of colonial government, and his narrative has been highly lauded by some ministerial papers, as affording an useful counterpoise to what they are pleased to consider the injudicious radicalism of Lord Durham's report.

When Sir Francis Head assumed the government of Upper Canada, it was understood by all parties that he came accredited to redress the grievances of which the assembly of the province had complained, and to give effect to those more liberal principles of government which the Secretary of State for the Colonies designed to adopt. Acting under this impression, the Tory, or official party, took an early opportunity of manifesting their opposition to him; and the leaders of the reformers waited upon him, in order that he might understand clearly and unequivocally, the grievances they were most anxious to redress, and the reforms that they chiefly desired to effect. Upon this proceeding of the reformers, Sir Francis attempts singularly enough to forward a charge of insincerity and faithlessness against the party. It appears that in the early part of the year 1835, a committee of grievances of the Assembly had made a general report, embodying the most prominent topics of complaint. This report had been forwarded to Lord Glenelg, and the instructions with which Sir Francis had been furnished, related solely to matters comprised in that report. When these instructions were produced, it appeared that some of the points to which the House of Assembly attached considerable importance, were omitted. Upon this, Mr. Bidwell,

the Speaker of the Assembly, took the earliest opportunity of pointing out the omission, in order that the new governor might be aware of the real wants of the country, and of the measures that would be necessary to satisfy the people. It is not easy to discover any indication of ill faith in this step. If, indeed, the reformers had allowed Sir Francis to proceed in the full conviction that his instructions comprised all that was demanded by the circumstances of the country; and subsequently, when he might have reasonably believed that nothing more remained to be done, and that he had satisfactorily accomplished his work of redress and reformation, had told him that all he had effected was useless without new and more extensive measures, such a charge as that which he now makes, might have been justly urged. Had they doubted the principles, or distrusted the sincerity of the Governor or of the English ministry, this probably would have been their course. But they appear to have relied implicitly upon the honor and good faith of both; and in a spirit of manly confidence, they at once stated that the instructions were inadequate, and offered to point out the particulars which had been omitted. To reply to such an offer thus urged in the manner described in the narrative, refusing to listen to anything not contained in the report or the instructions, whatever might be its importance or its urgency, argues a lamentable deficiency in courtesy and judgment. Whatever might have been his private feelings on the subject, Sir Francis was at least bound to have listened to these statements, in order that he might lay them before the Imperial Government, by whom, and not by himself, the propriety of their acceptance or their rejection was to be determined. We take the statement upon the authority of Sir Francis himself, confessing at the same time that we do not quite accept his present account of the transaction, as an accurate representation of what occurred at the interviews in question. Our hesitation is founded partly upon his own despatches, in which the matter is presented under a very different aspect, and partly upon the fact that the reformers appear subsequently to have been willing to act cordially in concert with him. Had he really behaved as he describes, anything like cordial co-operation would have been impossible. But, without attempting to determine to what extent Sir Francis has misrepresented his own conduct, we may at least pronounce that in this particular, the reformers acted with equal candor and prudence, assuming, as they appear to have assumed, that they had to deal with a person having both authority and inclination to ascertain and redress their grievances.

Almost the first public act of the new governor was to fill up the Executive Council, by adding three new members to the three of which it was already composed. The Executive Council of Upper Canada is in some respects analogous to the Privy

Council in England. The members are sworn to advise the governor; and in popular opinion they are held responsible for all the acts of the government. Neither the powers nor duties of the councillors are, however, very clearly described, and the cases in which the governor is required by positive law to act with the concurrence of the council, are few, and comparatively unimportant. To the composition of this body, very considerable importance was attached by the Upper Canada reformers, and one of the objects for which they most strenuously contended, was to assimilate their constitution in practice to that of England, by making this council responsible to the legislature, in the same manner as the ministry of this country is responsible to Parliament. We have no intention at present to enter into the question which has been raised as to the expediency or in expediency of such a practice. A more fit opportunity for the discussion of this point will probably soon present itself. But the existence of such a feeling presented serious obstacles in the way of Sir Francis, when he attempted to select new members for the council. The gentleman to whom he at first applied, declined to accept office unless the responsibility of the council was admitted; and though afterwards he consented to wave this point, as a preliminary condition, he did so only on the understanding that practically the council was to be consulted upon all measures of government, and that its members were to be at liberty to resign office so soon as the policy of the government ceased to command the support of a majority in the assembly. Upon this footing, three additional members were introduced into the council; but within less than a fortnight after the new members had been sworn in, the council addressed a memorial to Sir Francis, stating their views of the duties which devolved upon them, as Executive councillors; and they received a reply from him which left them only the alternative of resigning the office to which they had so recently been called, or of abandoning the principles upon which their acceptance of office was founded. They preferred the former alternative; and resigned in a body.

By the act which occasioned the resignation of the Executive councillors, Sir Francis Head at once brought himself into direct collision with the majority of the Assembly. In that act, although doubtless, highly unpalatable to the leading reformers, and utterly subversive of the hopes which they had begun to entertain, there was, however, nothing incompatible with the peaceful and constitutional adjustment of the question at issue between the governor and his councillors. Sir Francis had taken a view of the meaning of the Constitutional Act of 1791, by which an Executive Council was created, at variance with the interpretation contended for by the legislative Assembly; but this was a difference of opinion susceptible of an easy adjustment, by reference to the

home government, or by an appeal to the people of the province. The subsequent measures of the governor were of a character to render any peaceful or satisfactory determination of the question, well nigh hopeless. From the moment in which he discovered that the reformers of the province desired to establish a control over the provincial government, on the part of the provincial legislature, similar to that exercised by the Imperial Parliament over the government of Great Britain, he appears to have decided that no measures ought to be kept with them, and that at all hazards, and by any means, it behoved him to crush a party by whom such doctrines were entertained. In order to effect this object, Sir Francis had recourse to expedients, not more incompatible with the dignity of the office which he sustained, than inconsistent with candor and rectitude—expedients which, when the heats of party are allayed, and they are regarded through a less distorting medium than the turbid atmosphere of political contention, must convict him in the eyes of the world, of an utter deficiency alike of statesman-like sagacity, and of high-toned principle. He misrepresented the objects, and calumniated the persons of his opponents; he pandered to the prejudices, and stimulated the passions of the people; appealing to the lowest motives of temporary interest, and calling into play every engine to excite national and sectarian animosity; and when by these acts, as he deemed, the public mind was sufficiently prepared for his purpose, and the Assembly was dissolved, he sanctioned proceedings for the purpose of carrying the elections in a high degree unseemly, if not absolutely unconstitutional. The immediate effect of his manoeuvres, was to obtain for the Tories a majority in the new Assembly. The reformers were defeated in those districts, where formerly they were most powerful, and the leading members of the Assembly that he had dissolved, were for the most part rejected by the constituencies they had previously represented. So far Sir Francis was successful; and if there had been no after reckoning, he would be entitled to the praise of a skilful and successful, though unprincipled intriguer. But the reformers, though defeated at the hustings, were neither silenced nor overawed. They had abandoned none of their ulterior objects, and abated no jot of their confidence of ultimate success. But a rankling sense of personal injury and insult was superadded to their political dissatisfaction. A feeling of angry contempt to the man, was combined with disloyalty to the governor; and the Radicals of the province were more dangerous in the moment of their seeming defeat, than they had been during the period of their previous legislative superiority. This, however, was a consideration which Sir Francis appears altogether to have overlooked; and he was only aroused from his fancied security by the unexpected, and to him astounding intelligence, of an actual rebellion.

We can select but a very few of the instances of misrepresentation of which Sir Francis was guilty. Some of these are supplied by the work before us. For others we must have recourse to documents published at the time, and to the journals and reports of the Assembly. But every instance that we shall adduce rests upon unimpeachable evidence, and we may safely challenge Sir Francis or his admirers, to deny the truth, or evade the force of our assertions in this particular.

The ground of difference between the Executive Council and the governor was as we have stated, whether or not the members of the Council were to be responsible to the legislature of the province. The councillors asserted that this responsibility was a necessary condition of their office; while Sir Francis contended that they were merely to advise the governor upon such matters as he might deem it expedient to submit to them; and that being sworn to secrecy as to the matters upon which their counsel was required, and the nature of the advice they had tendered, they were of necessity irresponsible. In his replies to addresses presented to him, Sir Francis describes the demand of the Executive councillors, as though they sought for irresponsibility, and he had advocated the opposite doctrine, for he speaks of 'the *irresponsible domination* of a Toronto ministry;' 'the arbitrary domination of an *irresponsible*, secret, and self-constituted cabinet;' 'the ignominious tyranny of a 'secret metropolitan cabinet,' &c., and in all he endeavours so to describe the contest between himself and the reform party, as though each had respectively held opinions the very reverse of those for which they actually contended. And these replies are published in the 'Narrative,' which contains a formal and explicit contradiction of the assertion thus implied. These replies are, however, only an imperfect sample of the methods to which he had recourse in order to excite the popular mind, and disguise the real subject of contention. To the inhabitants of the more remote districts, he described the inconveniences which they might suffer, and the neglect which their interests would experience from what he termed a metropolitan cabinet; to some he contrasted the flourishing condition of the United States, with the stagnant and improgressive situation of Upper Canada, implying that the striking inferiority of the latter was attributable to the measures of the Assembly; to others, he plainly, but somewhat coarsely intimated, that in opposing him they were "quarrelling with their own bread and butter;" and, that unless they returned such members as were disposed to support his policy, he would refrain from exercising his constitutional prerogative for the advancement of the prosperity of the country. Some he attempted to terrify by vague hints of obscure and hidden dangers, only to be escaped by means of giving

him an unquestioning and unconditional support, and others he attempted to seduce by equally vague promises of mighty advantages which he could secure for them if the Assembly should contain a majority of members pledged to support him. Many too, were induced to vote for the government candidates, by having the titles to their land presented to them at the polling places, by a government agent, and many were driven from the poll by the permitted violence of the orange mobs, which were enlisted in support of the governor. By such means did Sir Francis obtain the victory in what he terms 'the most eventful moral struggle that has ever taken place in our North American Colonies.' A victory thus procured was, however, more disastrous than defeat. The struggle too, was as far from being terminated as ever, and its ultimate adjustment has been rendered incalculably more difficult by the manner in which this first conflict was decided.

No sooner had Sir Francis obtained his temporary triumph, than he turned his thoughts to revenge himself upon his defeated opponents. A very large portion of the work at the head of this article is occupied with a correspondence which arose out of his attempts to effect this object with regard to two persons who had taken a prominent part in the contest; by excluding the one from an office to which his talents and standing, and unimpeachable moral character preeminently entitled him; and by dismissing the other from appointments which he actually held. We cannot now enter into the merits of the two cases; but we must not omit the opportunity of expressing our admiration of the despatches of Lord Glenelg in reference to the conduct pursued by Sir Francis upon this occasion. Their perusal leaves but one subject of regret—that so clear a sense, and so forcible an exposition of what was just, should not have been accompanied by a little more vigor and firmness. Had the Colonial minister been as decided in action as he was just in sentiment and liberal in intention, Sir Francis would have been stopped in the midst of his career of mischief, and the unhappy and most disastrous rebellion which he contrived to provoke would in all probability have been averted. We have only space here to notice the implied apology now put forth by Sir Francis, for a procedure which on the face of it appears a wanton act of vengeance. He states, that 'in consequence of 'the rebellion which had already broken out in Lower Canada, a 'corresponding insurrection was naturally to be expected in the 'Upper Province, and consequently that it was more than ever 'politic to give encouragement to the loyal, and discouragement 'to that party who were on the very eve of a rebellion.' Now, not to observe that in November, 1837, almost at the moment when rebellion had actually broken out in the Lower Province, Sir Francis in a despatch to Lord Glenelg, declares his belief that

there would be no revolt, and that, therefore, he could not have been influenced by any such motives of policy as he describes in the passage from which we have just quoted, we may simply convict Sir Francis of what we only will not term a falsehood, because it is so gross and obvious a misstatement as to lead to the belief that it is attributable to carelessness rather than fraud, by calling attention to the fact that the dismissal of Mr. Ridout took place in the month of July, 1836, or sixteen months *before* the breaking out of the rebellion which is now alleged as its justification! As Sir Francis disclaims in plain terms the gift of prophecy, we cannot admit that the alleged was his real motive in the transaction, or attribute his arbitrary conduct to any other feeling than that of personal pique.

From July, 1836, when the elections were terminated, to the autumn of 1837, a violent agitation prevailed in the Province. The new Assembly was little disposed to use its victory with moderation; and the attempts made by the defeated candidates to impugn the validity of the elections met with a similar fate to that which often attends election petitions in an assembly somewhat nearer home. All the subsequent appointments made by Sir Francis were from the most violent and uncompromising partisans among his Tory adherents; and it was sufficiently understood, if not explicitly proclaimed, that to have held Radical opinions was an absolute and ineffaceable ground of exclusion from office. The passing of an act by which the Assembly was to continue for its full term of four years without being dissolved at the decease of the reigning monarch, added greatly to the discontent of the excluded party, by postponing for that period the moment in which they might expect to regain their lost position. Still, although the press was vehement in denouncing the person and policy of the Governor, and party animosity assumed a more bitter and menacing aspect than it had ever before displayed, there appeared no prospect of any resistance to the authority of the Crown, or of any attempt to overturn by violence the existing institutions of the province. The Reformers were awaiting in impatience and irritation the period when they might have an opportunity of regaining their former position, and were engaged in preparations to turn it to account. But events were then occurring in the neighbouring province, which, aided by the almost inconceivable fatuity of Sir Francis Head, inspired the more intemperate Radicals with other designs, and brought on a crisis from which the Province has not yet escaped.

In the mean time, however, Sir Francis had discovered how very limited was the success that had attended his election manœuvring. He speedily ascertained, that whatever difference of profession might exist between the Reformers and the Tories, there was no difference in the practical assertion of their right to con-

trol the policy of the government. And he felt, too, that he had deprived himself of the power which a moderate and guarded policy might have secured to him, of keeping the one party in check by availing himself of the support which a very slight encouragement might have procured him from the other. He had thrown himself so unreservedly into the hands of the Tories, and had so insulted and defied the Reformers, that he was delivered over without the smallest means of resistance or escape, to the Tory majority in the new Assembly. As may be expected, a truth so mortifying did not flash upon him at once. In the first moments of triumph, both the Governor and the Assembly were too much engaged in mutual felicitations, and too anxious to secure the fruits of their victory, to permit either to discover grounds of difference. But when, these transports were past; when the last lingering petition of the Radicals was disposed of; when Lord Glenelg had signified his tardy approbation of the policy that had won the elections; and all seemed peaceful abroad and secure at home; differences of opinion began speedily to manifest themselves, and the Governor, to his surprise, no less than his mortification, found that in all such differences he was expected to yield. Fortunately for Sir Francis, his resignation of the Governorship saved him from the otherwise inevitable humiliation of openly appearing as the vassal of an Assembly to which he had looked as the means of securing an almost autocratical independence; but enough transpired to show his absolute incapacity of offering any effectual resistance to the Tory majority. Those unscrupulous exertions of his influence as Governor, and those reckless misrepresentations of the objects and principles of his opponents, to which he had recourse in order to carry the elections, produced no other result than this, and he had driven half of the community to a state of feeling bordering at least upon disloyalty, for no more worthy end than to substitute Mr. M'Nab for Mr. Bidwell, as Speaker of the Assembly, and to create a Tory majority more powerful and more impatient of control than their Radical predecessors, by whose opposition he had been so violently excited.

In the month of December, 1837, the news of an insurrection of the disaffected inhabitants of Lower Canada, reached the Upper Province, and was succeeded in the early part of the next month by an armed rising on the part of Mr. Mackenzie, and some of his adherents. This of all the events of his brief administration, affords to Sir Francis the chief ground of self-gratulation. He admires himself, and challenges the admiration of the public both on account of the policy which provoked and the conduct that quelled the rising. He claims credit for having evoked the storm that he afterwards allayed; and, hitherto, parties in England have been too much disposed to take for granted the truth of all

his boastings upon the subject. But his representations on this subject are utterly fallacious and unfounded. He provoked the rebellion; but nothing was farther from his desire and his expectation than such a result of his policy; and so far from having quelled the rising, the attempt of Mackenzie owed whatever of impunity attended it, to the vacillation and backwardness of Sir Francis. In truth, but for the cowardice of their leaders, the rebels could hardly have failed to seize the capital of the Province, which Sir Francis had left open to their attack. In spite of the reiterated warnings of more prudent men, Sir Francis persisted to the very last moment in an obstinate incredulity as to the real designs of Mackenzie, and uniformly refused to adopt even the commonest precautions against an assault. To such an extent was this infatuation carried, that, but for measures adopted by Colonel Fitzgibbon in defiance of the prohibition of Sir Francis, the rebels might have marched into the city of Toronto on the night of the rising, and have seized the arms, which were totally undefended, without encountering the slightest opposition, and even without any one being aware of their approach. In his despatch to Lord Glenelg, giving an account of the rebellion, p. 327, Sir Francis allows that his statement of the position in which the communication of the approach of the rebels found him, 'is an unqualified admission, that he was completely surprised by the rebels.' It is so no doubt. But Sir Francis has never told either to Lord Glenelg or to the public, that but for Colonel Fitzgibbon, the surprise would have been so far complete, that the first news of the approach of the rebels would have been, not that they had assembled at Montgomery's tavern, but that they were in possession of the Town. He has always kept in the background the fact, that the piquet which, without his knowledge and in violation of his injunctions, had been formed by Colonel Fitzgibbon was the first obstacle to the advance of the rebels, and that it was in consequence of the resistance thus offered, they fell back to Montgomery's tavern, instead of advancing directly upon Toronto. It was not that the piquet was of itself sufficient to oppose an effectual obstacle to the progress of the insurgents, but that it appeared to argue a state of preparation in the inhabitants of the city at variance with their previous information. Mr. Mackenzie had expected to find the policy of Sir Francis Head carried out effectually, and as this was not the case, he became doubtful and irresolute, and missed the opportunity which Sir Francis had, with unexampled folly, placed within his reach. We cannot describe in detail the proceedings of Sir Francis from the time when he was awakened at Toronto by the news of the approach of the rebels, and when, in a state of consternation at the unlooked for intelligence, he contemplated abandoning the city, to the termination of his government, when he had nearly succeeded in turning

a petty insurrection of a handful of half armed and undecided farmers and mechanics into a war between two powerful nations. But some justice has already been done to this part of his administration by a late writer in the *London and Westminster Review*, and we may be assured that the gallant men in Upper Canada, to whom the suppression of the insurrection, and the repulse of the American invaders was owing, will not long submit in silence to see their honors quietly appropriated by one whom they uniformly regarded as a hinderance rather than a help, and to whose interference they attributed whatever reverse or difficulty attended their efforts. We must, however, before concluding this brief comment upon his proceedings, make a few observations upon his policy in reference to this rebellion, because his conduct in this particular is the point upon which he has been most strenuously supported by all the Tory writers, and upon which, in their opinion, his claim to the title of saviour of Upper Canada is mainly founded.

Sir Francis thus describes his own policy in the present work. 'By people in England,' he says, 'I have been generally blamed for allowing treason to come to a head. But the fact is, the Province had suffered quite enough from agitation; and, as I had carefully tested the materials with which I had to work, I felt that instead of either trying to conciliate Mr. Mackenzie, or make his fortune by a government prosecution, I had better let him come within the reach of the law, and then let it hang him.' Now, in the first place, we assert unhesitatingly, that this was not the policy of Sir Francis. He did not expect the rebellion. Had he anticipated any such measure on the part of Mr. Mackenzie, we must do him the justice to believe that, in spite of his overweening vanity and constitutional recklessness, he would have taken some precautions. He might have assumed the appearance of helplessness and inaction; but he would have been active in order that he might not be found as helpless as he appeared. At least, if he had not done so, he would have been guilty of a folly so great as to bear the aspect of treason, and would have rendered himself fairly liable to impeachment. Even according to his own account, he was taken completely by surprise, and the town of Toronto was only preserved from attack while in an utterly unprepared and helpless condition, by what as he would imply, was the accidental encounter of Mr. Powell with some of the insurgent leaders. To have encouraged a rebellion against which no preparation of any sort was made, and which was prevented from succeeding only by a happy accident, is at best a very doubtful and negative sort of merit; and though not estimating very highly the prudence of Sir Francis, we do not believe him to have been guilty of any such folly. The rebellion was entirely unforeseen; and Sir Francis was in reality as unprepared as he appeared to be, though now he

chooses to assume the responsibility of having brought about that which he simply had failed to prevent.

But if Sir Francis persists in his present assertion, and finds persons to believe in its truth, we would beg such persons to weigh calmly the true aspect of the procedure. He wished to let Mr. Mackenzie come within the reach of the law, and then let it hang him! But Mr. Mackenzie could not come within the reach of the law without also bringing within its reach many others, who, whatever might be their opinions, had done nothing to provoke the hostility of Sir Francis, or to entitle him to thirst for their blood. To obtain a chance of hanging Mr. Mackenzie, therefore, Sir Francis deliberately sacrificed all the lives that were lost in the rebellion: and after all he failed in his chief object. He professes to lament the death of the gallant Colonel Moodie, but he should know, that rebellions are not made without causing the death of many brave and loyal men. What was the life of Mr. Mackenzie, that it should be weighed against that of all the persons who whether innocent or seduced into guilt, must inevitably perish ignobly and disastrously in that worst of all conflicts, a civil war? To let the law hang one man whom Sir Francis had found troublesome, he invited bloodshed and discord; the destruction of property, and the waste of life; the abiding animosity which springs from the remembrance of wrongs inflicted and endured; the wantonness of triumph and the recklessness of despair. It is true, that he did not expect American sympathy; he did not dream of the loss of life at Point au Pelé; of the outrages which unsettled the reason of an amiable and intelligent woman, and thus have embittered the remaining years of a loyal and gallant gentleman; he did not anticipate the occurrence of events which might render it well nigh impossible to avoid a war between Great Britain and the United States, involving, as such a war would involve, the most disastrous consequences for both countries, and fraught with results which no human foresight could predict. But he ought to have known, that when once the sword is drawn; when men are hopelessly committed to a course in which failure is death, there is nothing that they will not do, no assistance that they will not invoke, in order to obtain the end upon which they have staked every thing they possess or hope; and without being expected to anticipate the precise direction of their endeavours, he was bound to have foreseen the probability of something more than a single effort the failure of which, and he must be presumed to have anticipated its failure, would involve the loss of life or the confiscation of property and perpetual exile. Morally, therefore, he is responsible, on the supposition that his present defence is well founded, for the contingent, as well as the direct fruits of his conduct. And he occasioned all this suffering and risk, and incurred

this weighty responsibility in order to reach the life of a single individual, whom after all he suffered to escape.

There is, however, a further ground upon which he states himself to have proceeded. 'The province had suffered quite enough 'from agitation.' And, therefore, he invited rebellion! It might have been supposed, that whatever were the evils of agitation, rebellion was even less desirable; and that, if the former had injured, the latter might ruin the province. But putting this consideration on one side, has the rebellion allayed the agitation? Is the Reform party less formidable or less active now than previously? Has the domination of the Tories, or Constitutionists, as Sir Francis terms them, been rendered more secure and tranquil than before the rebellion broke out? Is the population more contented—the country more prosperous—political strife less violent—party feuds less bitter than formerly? Is it not, on the contrary, notoriously the case, that in every point of view, the condition of the Province has been seriously deteriorated by the results of this unhappy rebellion, for which, if we are to believe Sir Francis, he above every body, is to be held responsible! And this it is, in Tory language, to save a country!

Our confined space has prevented us from adverting to many particulars essential to an accurate conception of the true nature of the work before us. We feel that in some respects our statements hardly possess their due weight because we have not been able to substantiate them in detail. But we are fearless of contradiction, because those who know what the real facts of the case are, must feel also, that we have exaggerated nothing, and have erred, if at all, on the side of omission. The policy of Sir Francis, whatever might be its intention, had undoubtedly the effect of increasing his difficulties in a duplicate ratio; and in overcoming one obstacle to his will, he uniformly created another twice as formidable. The means by which he freed himself from the Executive Council committed him to a conflict with the Assembly; the defeat of the Assembly produced more violent and dangerous agitation than had ever previously been known in the Province; to quell the agitation he invited a rebellion; and in crushing the rebellion he incurred an imminent risk of a war with the United States. Here, however, happily for the peace of the world, he was checked, or it is difficult to say to what point he would have pushed his fortune. It is a strange conjuncture of parties which can elevate such a man to the reputation of a statesman and a hero; but it is consolatory to know, that a very brief period only can elapse before Sir Francis is stripped of his adventitious fame, and reduced to his true dimensions. Anticipating the speedy arrival of this period, we should not have taken any notice of the present production, did not future legislation for the Province

he misgoverned, depend in some degree upon the estimate formed of his policy. We have given to Upper Canada a consideration which we should not have thought of giving to Sir Francis Head.

Art. VI. 1. *Christian Witness (a Quarterly Periodical).* Rowe. Plymouth.

2. *Discipleship.* By PERCY HALL.

3. *Schismatic Tendency of Sectional Membership.*

4. *The Memorial of the Brethren in Christ.*

IT would argue little knowledge or little discretion in English Independents or Baptists, to justify their adherence to their respective communities, on the ground that these were organized and conducted according to a perfect apostolic model. Although in the heat of controversy different sects may appear to hold such language towards each other; yet we apprehend that members of the same sect, in private intercourse, are free enough to confess that this and that point would be well altered. The spirit of dogmatism in man is doubtless so strong, that he is apt to assume a tone of infallibility, even when contending against such assumptions: yet we believe that considerate and moderate men are to be found in all sects, and eminently, we would hope, among those who acknowledge no authority but that of Christ and his apostles; men, who would willingly listen to complaints of defect or error in their own church government, especially if accompanied with practical suggestions for avoiding them.

One point has been often commented on, from the days of Dr. Owen to the present time, in which the congregational churches of England differ from those of the primitive ages. The churches of the first and second centuries had *many elders* in each. The bishop was not then an isolated minister, but *primus inter pares*, distinguished among his coadjutors by age, by gifts, or by long acquaintance with the flock. Before the power of the bishop, as a separate order, was established; before the influx of wealth had made his office coveted for the patronage or luxury connected with it; before political and judicial authority had been vested in him, this arrangement had many advantages. The plurality of presbyters guarded considerably against the undue influence of a single mind, and the contraction of intellect which a church suffers when it is long dependent on the instruction of a single teacher. But as it is obviously impossible for such a body of teachers to work together in harmony, without a President or Chairman, the very necessity of the case will presently confer on one of the presbyters a certain priority of honour to the rest, in which consisted primitive Episcopacy.

The organization of modern dissenting churches, having rarely even a pretence of similarity in this respect to the churches of the first century, it is not wonderful that those who are honestly desirous of following the *highest* antiquity, should from time to time utter loud remonstrances against our present degenerate condition. And if it be accompanied with friendly suggestions of amelioration, we desire to receive them most cordially. Such we believe to be the intention of Mr. R. M. Beverley, in his "Letters to the Rev. John A. James," although (like a valuable watch dog), his bark is rather too sharp to please our nerves. Such, we are sorry to say, is *not* the intention of another class of brethren, who are loud in declamation against "*the one-man system.*" *Delenda est Carthago*, is the motto carried on their banner. They avowedly rejoice in every thing which tends to the destruction of existing churches; and would utterly refuse to help in improving them.

Before proceeding to a closer examination of their doctrines, let us dwell a little on the deviation from antiquity, to which, on the part of congregational churches, we have pleaded guilty. The first question that offers itself is, whether the total number of teachers compared with the number of professing members in the congregational churches of England, is less than in the churches of the first two centuries. We do not pretend to be able to give an accurate answer, but we think there is such a measure of probability in the belief that teachers are comparatively as numerous in the congregational churches now, as they were in the earliest times, as that the burden of proof lies with him who denies it. Suppose that the church of Antioch had twenty presbyters; perhaps at the same time there were at least 10,000 members. In short, it was only the large churches, formed in the capital cities, which had numerous presbyters: nor have we ever seen evidence to make it credible that there was ordinarily more than one teacher to two or three hundred persons. If then it be admitted that we are not comparatively deficient in the *number* of teachers, the remedy for our present defect (admitting it to be such), is not so obviously to be sought where Mr. Beverley would seek it, in multiplying three or four fold the ministers in each congregation. If indeed this be possible, we do not say that it should not be done. But he himself is convinced that adequate pecuniary support for the increased number is unattainable: hence the new teachers will be only lay elders, capable of giving but fractions of their time to the immediate service of the ministry.

But unless we mistake, our difference from the ancient churches lies in another point. The "attraction of cohesion," between the individuals who formed a church was far stronger in early than in modern times. Their numbers might multiply from one hundred to a thousand, and from this to five, eight, ten thousand and upwards, without its occurring to them to separate into seve-

ral churches. With us, the weight of the mass breaks the ball into pieces, long before such dimensions can be attained. If all the congregationalists in London, Birmingham, or Bristol, were to cohere as in ancient days, they might have as fine a show of presbyters as had Rome and Alexandria. How much more so, if all the professors of Religion of every class and sect were so united into a single church? This then is the immediate and proximate cause of our having apparently fewer teachers in our churches.

Now if any one allege that herein consists our sin, that we are so ready to separate from one another, he will state a great truth; yet a truth which may easily be so used as to inculcate error and injustice. Indeed there is some weight in the defence, that the Scripture has not defined at what crisis the unwieldiness of a church is a reason for dividing it into several; and that such unwieldiness rarely can have arisen in apostolic times. Yet it is certain that Ephesus in Paul's day was large enough to need and to support many elders or overseers; and we are not therefore disposed to excuse ourselves, as though there were no scriptural precedent against us. More to the purpose might it be to say, that experience has shown the mischief of these powerful organizations; that the rapid growth of episcopal power in the second century, while the civil magistrate was still hostile, and the church comparatively uncorrupt, may serve to warn us not to desire to imitate the earliest churches so closely in a matter which turned out so hurtful to them; or at least, not to grieve very much if exactly that state of things is now unattainable.

Yet we cannot deny that it is a shame and a scandal to all churches, of every name and sect, when they part in anger or disgust; or when, having parted, they cease to regard one another as constituting one body; and will not receive one another as those ought to do, who have parted merely from mutual convenience. Now at first sight it may appear that the ancient churches vastly excelled us in love and in Christian submissiveness; and we are too sensible of the deep want of these qualities in modern times, to desire for one moment to comfort either ourselves or others by depreciating the ancients. Yet if our relative positions are to be understood, there are certain circumstances that must not be omitted. Of the apostolic churches none, that we know, formed actual secessions; but they were not therefore without schisms. Having, probably, no vast room that would contain all, the entire body seldom endeavoured to assemble; but meetings would be held in various private houses, where more or fewer of the church would come. At Corinth we know that particular preachers were run after, and schisms resulted, exactly as in modern days. But when the first excitement was past, and the clerical order was fairly established, a far greater uniformity of doctrine must have obtained among teachers than can exist now; and it was not long

before the mass of the ignorant laity began to imbibe the belief, that whatever the teachers asserted to come of apostolic tradition, must be quietly received by them. We feel it hard to eulogize this as humility or Christian submissiveness. But how opposite is our case. We came out of the bog of Rome, with mire sticking all over us; and before men could get clear, and the new position be well understood, a few of the foremost laid hold of the theology of Augustine, and persuaded the civil power in every country to enforce this as the only true creed of Protestants. Thenceforward the Calvinistic controversy unceasingly embroiled the churches; (a controversy altogether unknown to the first four centuries;) and the differences of doctrine between teachers became too considerable to allow men to treat it as immaterial to which of several they would habitually listen. The most common cause which leads churches to divide into two, rather than cohere and grow as one, is found in the preference of preachers: and how is this difficulty to be fought against by pressing all the churches into one?

We do not say that this is a *right* state of things. We feel it bad, painful, humbling. But we must represent, that the case is not that of Congregationalism, but of Protestantism. The agreement on these points is *less* (for instance) among ministers of the church of England, than among congregationalists. We believe that pious members of the church of England would fret as much as any dissenters, to be constrained to attend any other ministers of that church than those whose doctrine they approve. In short then, those who desire to blend all the dissenters of each city into one church (without which we *cannot* imitate the ancients, and must needs go on in the "one-man system"), must show us how it is to be effected suddenly, at any other expense than by individuals renouncing their private judgments, and thus reestablishing Popery. For ourselves, we believe *it ought to be aimed at*; but that the time is not generally ripe for it, and that to constrain the form of union before the substance is attained, would embitter the quarrel, and make the rent worse. Perhaps the Lord does not grant to any division of his church the blessing of full unanimity, until all the branches of it learn to lay aside their enmities: and as regards sin in this matter, we dare not throw a stone at any other church, except at those, which by a claim of universal exclusive dominion, carry schism and implacable war on their front.

Among these we are very sorry to reckon the recently arisen body of Christians, whose head quarters is Plymouth, and who have taken to themselves the title of *The Brethren*. Most sincerely can we profess that we have watched the rise and progress of their views, not only without prejudice, but with deep and anxious interest. We saw so much to admire in the spirit of the men, so many points of neglected truth prominent in their minds, that it was long before we gave up the hope that they would ex-

hibit to England a pattern of a "more excellent way" than she has yet seen. It is not any error in bare opinions of which we complain—errors equally great we may ourselves hold un-awares: and many of their opinions appear to us to involve valuable truth. It is the exclusive dogmatic spirit, the scornful, supercilious tone, the absolute refusal to cooperate on neutral ground, the zeal for proselyting persons—not to Christ, but to a new system, which they ridiculously pretend is *not* a system; the carelessness what spiritual ties they burst while pressing their theories; we must add, the false principles of reasoning and judgment, set up for idolatry; their contempt of all who contest their modes of thinking; their unwise scoffs against learning and education; their opposition to every effort to educate men's minds or benefit their civil condition;—these are the things which have convinced us to our sorrow, that they are likely to be chiefly signal as firebrands in the Christian world, and supporters of all political oppression.

There is an *apparent* difficulty in learning what their tenets are; for they forbid us to count the *Christian Witness* their organ (protesting against this on the wrapper); they refuse to set forth any Creed or Form of Church Government; they pretend to act as individuals, and that their Church, *as such*, holds no notions. We shall however persist in calling the *Christian Witness* their organ, as long as we see it strictly confined to the advocacy of their peculiar sentiments. No one can study their numerous tracts, great and small, much less hear their preachings, their expositions of Scripture, their conversations, their prayers, without perceiving an entire and peculiar system of doctrine and thought pervading the whole. We do not, therefore, feel on uncertain ground, in endeavouring to *consolidate* their tenets: and though it is highly possible that many individuals of their body, who have but partially imbibed or understood the system, will shrink from naked statements, which, when clothed in their peculiar phraseology, they habitually admire; we yet feel satisfied that the following will, as a whole, substantially and faithfully convey the doctrines inculcated among them.

Their fundamental tenet is the same as that of the Quakers; viz., that the energies of the Holy Spirit are still given to the Church in so emphatic and peculiar a mode, as to make all Church arrangements for edification unlawful. They do not attack bad organization, but organization as such. They hold that no edification can be expected by a Church, which is "chaining the Spirit" by a fixed ministry; and they assign this as an adequate ground, why all dissenters should break away from their existing connections. No blessing is to be had "except in God's own way," that is, except in a church where no regulation is made that one brother more than another should address the body. It ought to be left to the moving of the Spirit on the heart of the individual at the moment.

So likewise a written Liturgy is unlawful, chiefly because it dictates to the Spirit.

A church may have, perhaps ought to have, a fixed pastor or pastors, not to teach, but to look after the conduct of the members, attend to the poor and sick, and make all arrangements of convenience; we believe, also, all of a pecuniary nature. It may likewise permit an individual to give notice, that he will preach the gospel at such a time and in such a place "to the world;" meaning thereby any body who comes; and who are counted as the world, even though nine tenths happen to be true believers. But if they assemble *as* believers, this is no longer lawful. The Spirit must then be left free.

Nor is it fit that the church recognize any individual as a Teacher by a public act. The Spirit makes a man a Teacher, and the individuals of the church in their *private* capacity are bound to recognize it; to listen to him, and obey the Spirit in him: but no one ought to be *officially* a Teacher, so as to have a time allotted for him, and him exclusively, to address the church.

The church ought to meet, "as a church," at least every Sunday; and every time that it meets, it ought to break bread in remembrance of the Lord.

It is not lawful to educate any one as a minister of religion, however undoubted his piety, however great his desire to become apt to teach. Such aptitude is to be gained, not by the natural exercises of the mind in Philology, in History, in Science, in Literature and Criticism, but by prayer, meditation, and study of the Bible alone, without note or comment.

If any one have *already* acquired a knowledge of literature, it is lawful to employ it in the service of Christ: but those who have not acquired it, must not seek for it. (Nearly as lawyers say of some things: *Fieri non debuit: factum valet.*)

The law of Moses is not our rule of life in any sense whatever. The law of Christ alone is our sufficient rule. Accordingly,* the observance of the Sabbath or Seventh Day is binding upon no Christian. The observance of the First Day is highly expedient, and by all means to be continued. Yet it does not rest on any recorded divine command, and much less is to be regulated by the law of the fourth Commandment.

It is not lawful to have private pews, any more than a private pulpit: and whenever the pulpit can be dispensed with, it should be removed, because (like clerical dresses) it is too much an emblem of office.

* As we believe "the Brethren" are unanimous on this subject, it seemed right not to omit it. Yet it is no peculiarity of theirs; since it was held by all the Reformers, as well as in all times by the most learned writers of the Church of England.

Preaching is only to the world : but teaching is to the church.

The twelfth and fourteenth chapters of the first Epistle to the Corinthians, contain the law of Christ for our public assembling.

Not all the spiritual gifts spoken of in that Epistle have departed from the church. The gift of "ruling," and "discernment of spirits," the "Word of Wisdom," the "Word of Knowledge," (if not that of Prophecy), still remain to us.

It is not lawful to take the opinion of the church on any spiritual subject, by asking the votes of individuals. "To put sin to the vote," is an offence to God.

It is not lawful to put down names, in promise of definite contributions to Teachers or Church-officers. If these last are living by faith, they will not desire it.

All *Rule* is in the few, because the Spirit is eminently in the few.

For a church to choose its ministers, is unscriptural presumption. Democracy in the Church, or in the World is alike of Satan.

When a minister sent by God comes, the church is bound to receive him.

Those who are *wise* in the church, will have a discernment of Spirits granted them, to judge in this matter: for "he who is spiritual judgeth all things."

To *separate from evil* is our first duty. "Cease to do evil: learn to do well." It is incumbent on every one instantly to leave a church in which the Spirit is chained by a fixed ministry; even though he have no prospect but that of absolute isolation. It is the way of faith. Let each act thus, and in a short time God will raise up from them a church in which he can indeed take pleasure; *perhaps*, one in which he will bestow gifts of prophecy, healing, and tongues.

Every person claiming admission into a church must be received, if he is a partaker of the Spirit, be his opinions what they may. Wisdom will be given to "the few," to judge of his character; but the sense of the church must by no means be taken. The church being always formed chiefly of babes and ignorant persons, must never vote "by the head" on such a matter.

It is unlawful to lay down any Creed, as a test of communion, or as a test for ministers. Nay, it is presumptuous to distinguish truths into fundamental and non-fundamental; and amounts to a slight on God's word, all parts of which are equally sacred.

The wise and eminently spiritual may detect that a person is *not* partaker of the Spirit, by some deficiency in the articles of his creed, even though (judging by moral tests alone), they would have mistaken him for a brother in Christ.

"To agree to differ," is a base and carnal policy, a* compromise with sin! for all differences of judgment flow out of sin.

* This sentiment may so often be heard among them, that we feel justified

The Creeds and decisions of the Catholic Church (so called), however early in time, are deserving of no respect and no attention. The study of Church History is rather injurious, as biasing the mind unduly in the perusal of Scripture, and leading us to rest on the opinions of fallible men.

It is a profanity and grievous presumption, to criticise the historical evidence of the genuineness and integrity of the Canon of Scripture, as by law set forth in the Church of England. To impeach the inspired authority of any book recognized by that church, would prove a man to be destitute of the Spirit, and deserving of excommunication.

It is unlawful* to appeal to Various Readings of manuscripts, against those followed by King James's translators: for this would unsettle every thing.

To criticise and amend the translation is unlawful; but it must be done by the Spirit, and not by the laws of common Greek and Hebrew.

In the interpretation of prophecy, the *literal* meaning is alone admissible. To fritter away the doctrine of the millennium, of Christ's personal coming, and of the restoration of the Jews with their ceremonial law, by appeals to Oriental metaphor and spiritual meanings, is little better than infidelity.

The whole of the Mosaic Law is typical. None of the precepts are medical, nor political, nor given in concession to existing custom, nor with a view to keep the Jews distinct from other nations, but they are all types of Christ and of the gospel. To explain the law of leprosy as a regulation of quarantine, or to illustrate the avenger of blood from Arab customs, indicates a mind utterly dark to things spiritual.

"Heresy" consists, not in making a Party, nor yet in holding or teaching a Fundamental error, but (as† the etymology indicates) in "choosing for oneself:" that is, in adopting an interpretation or opinion not according to the mind of the Spirit. Thus, an Anti-millennarian is a Heretic: or again, one who holds the Apocalypse to be spurious is a Heretic.

Heresy deserves excommunication, because it is "a work of the flesh."—(Gal. v. 20.)

in putting this down as one of their tenets. Yet assuredly they *do* "agree to differ" on Infant Baptism, and are particularly severe on the churches that will not. We do not know how to reconcile this.

* This is certainly maintained by leading men among them; yet it is difficult to think it can be generally and soberly avowed.

† We would not wish any of our readers to receive this as a fact. The word Heresy means, first, a Philosophical Tenet or System; and secondly, a Sect or Party; as it is generally, and should always be, rendered in the New Testament. A "Heretic" means a Partisan.

If any brother in his public teaching, utter that which is false or unedifying, those who are wise must reprove him; and he must submit to them. For we are ordered to be 'subject one to another.' And if he do not submit, they must reject him as a heretic after a first and second admonition.

All the precepts of our Lord must be understood literally, without any reasonings about their Hebrew idiom. A man who explains: 'Lay not up for yourselves treasures on earth, but lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven;' to mean, 'Be less anxious to lay up treasures on earth, than to lay up treasures in heaven:' shows a determination to dictate what our Lord *ought* to have spoken, instead of reverentially receiving what he *has* spoken. In all similar cases, it is the way of Faith to believe and obey to the letter, however absurd such conduct might seem to Sense.

'Owe no man any thing,' is an apostolic injunction: it is, therefore, unlawful to borrow money.

To receive interest from monies in the public funds is lawful; but it is more according to the mind of Christ to spend the capital; than, to keep it and devote the interest to his service.

Inferiors in rank ought to be willing to acknowledge superiority of rank in other Christians; but the superiors should never recognize it in themselves.

In giving and distributing to the indigent, we must listen to the simple commands of Christ, and not modify them by any considerations of expediency and political economy.

To attend a political meeting, or to become member of a society in which men unite, not as Christians, but as citizens, for gaining any worldly object (as the emancipation of slaves, the protection of Aborigines, the providing for the poor, the reforming of criminals); is to become one of the world, and is inconsistent with our duty to Christ.

By becoming citizens of the New Jerusalem, we cease to be citizens of this world, and ought not to claim the rights of worldly citizenship. Paul showed great want of faith in doing so. As a punishment for his wilful return to Jerusalem, when the Holy Spirit forbade him; he seems to have been left under a cloud, and finally sent to prison by Felix and Festus for two years, until he had come to himself.

No Christian ought to submit to bear sway in this world; for all the powers of this world are apostate from God, and in reality appointed by and under control of the devil.

When it is said, that kings and governors are an ordinance of God, this is to be understood of his Providence, not of his Grace. He 'ordains' them, as he ordains banditti, earthquake, and pestilence.

Every part of the life of Christ is a pattern for the imitation of the believer. To pretend that he is our pattern in his common

character, but not in his ministerial character, is an invention of carnal reason, to enable men to pick and choose how far they will follow him. No such distinction can hold; for every Christian bears a ministerial character towards God.

No believer should enter into any union or society for any purposes whatsoever, except a union in which the Spirit governs unconstrainedly. To be a member of a Missionary Society is unlawful, unless the society be modelled as a Church ought to be.

We ought not to desire to retain and transmit to our children, that political liberty which we enjoy; or if we do desire it, the desire should be buried in our bosoms, and displayed neither by word nor deed.

We ought not to busy ourselves with promoting the temporal good of others by mending worldly systems. Slaves, we may be satisfied to leave slaves for ever. *The world is too bad to be mended by regulations.* We should do good *in detail* by preaching the gospel, feeding the hungry, and tending the sick; but we ought to feel supreme indifference concerning Acts of Parliament. A philanthropist can scarcely be a Christian.

Whatever the Scriptures say concerning the world as it was, must be understood concerning the world as it is. No allowance must be made for change of circumstances: for this would turn the Bible into an obsolete book, and make it a trap for the poor and simple.

In expounding prophecy, we must first settle the meaning (according to the wisdom given us), and not till afterwards, search into history for its fulfilment. Yet history is of very minor importance; were it otherwise, the prophecies would be useless to the poor.

No part of the Apocalypse is yet fulfilled. When the time comes, it will be nearly all run through in the course of three natural years and a half. Babylon does not mean Rome, but means some worldly system of which certainly Dissenters and Radicals are a part.

The Psalms are all to be understood spiritually, of Christ and Antichrist, and of Israel restored, or about to be restored, to his own land.

The Proverbs are generally to be explained spiritually, as is all the narrative portion of the Old Testament, though not to the exclusion of its literal sense. Thus in the Proverbs, a virtuous woman means a good church, a scolding woman and strange woman mean churches as political as those of modern Dissenters, and as foreign to Christ as Establishments. Wine means doctrine; Wisdom means Christ.

In the prophets, Babylon, Egypt, Tyrus, Idumea, &c., must by no means be explained of the ancient nations so called. Mr. Keith has done a great disservice to the cause of Christ in so un-

derstanding them; for it is easy to see that many of the things alleged were not really fulfilled; as the putting out of the sun and moon, the reeling and vanishing of the earth, &c. To attempt to spiritualize away these expressions is infidelity. Faith would at once see, that the names Babylon, &c., must have a spiritual interpretation.*

We think we have written enough, and more than enough, in detail. It will be seen that the Brethren agree with the Quakers in many points, but not in that point for which these have commanded the veneration of all sects and all men; their untiring zeal for liberty of person and of conscience, their noble union of gentleness and moral power with a bold demand of 'that which is just and equal' for all their species. Alas, on the contrary, the Brethren refuse to employ the moral influence even of their names and personal presence, to gain any blessing for their fellow men, except within the pale of their own church. Condemning war unreservedly and universally, it would be against their conscience to become members even of a Peace Society!

It would be doing ourselves an injustice to let it be supposed, that we have the slightest hostility to them. We are most fully convinced, that a very large proportion of them are not only amiable and respectable as individuals, but devotedly pious, and anxious to do that of which they talk so much,—to be subject to the Spirit in all things. But it is certainly possible that the leading spirits among them, with much that is praiseworthy, may have too large a leaven of self-will and love of rule, and no one can study their principles without seeing how heavy a yoke of spiritual despotism these prepare. Their aversion to 'church tribunals' seems nearly as intense as that of Charles the First to Parliaments; and we fear for a like reason.

(1) Now this is the first point in the *spirit* of their system to which we must call attention. As the Apostolicals and the Irving-

* We think it safer to abstain from any farther notice of their prophetic views, both because we should be too voluminous, and because of the difficulty of understanding their endless refinements. Much turns on 'the Dispensations;' a subject harped upon ad nauseam; and most unintelligibly. The Levitical law, because so dark, is another favorite portion with them. Every page, indeed, of Scripture, as they represent it, appears full of enigmas and conceits. Deep mysteries and valuable truths are hidden in grammatical and verbal changes. Thus 'the Son of the Father' means something very different from 'the Son of God:' and the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews (iv. 3.) had a *moral reason* for saying *καταβολῆς κόσμου*, (foundation of world), instead of *τῆς καταβολῆς τοῦ κόσμου* (the foundation of the world). We might fill pages with frivolities of this nature; a natural result of the mystical fancy, that the literary composition of the Scripture was governed by a sort of divine grammar, which it is unlawful to explain as we explain the idioms of common writers.

ites, so have the 'Brethren' a system of spiritual despotism, founded on an assumption of the exclusive possession of the Spirit. Their explanation of 'heresy,' undermines all Christian liberty whatsoever, and could the rule be carried generally into effect, must split the church into as many parts as it contained independent minds. A little knowledge of human nature might enable one to predict how it would work. A majority love to have some other mind to lean on; and the more decided and dogmatic is the teacher, the better they like it. Of the teachers themselves, we may calculate that some will be modest and cautious by nature, and either will choose a path so peculiar as never to clash, or will be kept down by the ascendancy of rougher minds. One or two, like the strongest buffaloes of a herd, will force their way in front, trampling a path through the thicket by which the weaker ones gladly follow. A close oligarchy is the result; for a sense of expediency and self-preservation exerts vast power in preventing 'the few' from quarrelling among themselves. But if any new comer, using the liberty of the 'Brethren,' ventures to advance any thing contrary to that which they have ruled to be the voice of the Spirit, he is ordered to submit to 'his brethren' (for 'we should be subject to one another'), and this means, not that he is allowed to appeal to the opinions of the Christian church at large; but to some half dozen individuals of themselves, who are, under God, the standard of right and wrong. 'All the saints are thus minded:' 'We have the mind of Christ:' 'The anointing which abideth in us teacheth us all things:' 'He which is spiritual judgeth all things:' these sentiments are repeated and echoed, until it is forgotten that there *are* saints opposed to their opinions.

When it is noted, that like the Irvingites and the Apostolicals, without being ostensibly politicians, they have a strong sympathy with ultra toryism, not a little quickened by recent reforms; the suspicion will enter, that a hatred of popular liberty bore no small share in the formation of their system. Both the Irvingites and the Plymouth church appear to us to have been set up as 'refuges for the aristocratic;' asylums to receive those who are driven out of the Church of England by her corruptions, but who cannot endure the 'democracy' inherent in the Voluntary system. Clergymen who leave the Establishment are certainly in a piteous condition. They have been used to dictate to their congregations; and so long as they could satisfy their consciences about the fixed subscriptions, needed to consult no man what, or how dogmatically, they should teach. But if any of them become pastor to a ready-formed Dissenting church, he finds the people pre-occupied with principles and customs new to him, and which he feels as a fresh yoke upon him, just at the moment he has taken a step with vast effort, that was to free him from all yoke. He is inexperienced in the practical difficulties of carrying on a church, when its chief

man is not backed up by the law of the land. The phraseology of Dissenters (for all parties and sects have their dialect) offends his taste, and perhaps the democratic *form* of the church clashes with his prejudices. Moreover (as the Plymouth Brethren), he often regards the mode of proceeding which has become habitual, as therefore evil, because it is *a system*. They are quite unconscious, while summoning all Christians 'to leave their own systems,' that they have formed a new system of their own. 'We have no system; we have no creed;' is their constant profession: yet let any one refuse to submit to some of their arrangements, or oppose some of their peculiar doctrines, and it at once appears that there is nothing practical in such liberalism or liberality. All this is, we repeat, quite natural, both to the clergy, and to the aristocracy, when they become Dissenters; and we make much allowance for their desire, rather to form a new church than to enter one already existing. But this will in no respect justify them in molesting the peace of other churches, and destroying Christian love, by exclusive pretensions.

So anxious are they to separate their cause from that of all *common* Dissenters, and to propitiate the aristocracy by representing this, that they reject the term 'Dissenter' when applied to themselves, as offensive. 'We dissent from Dissenters,' say they: so that the greatest Dissenter in the kingdom (who denies that any community in it except his own sect, is a Church of Christ at all), is not to be called a Dissenter! This is as curious as Mr. Irving's alleging that no one in England had a right to dissent from the Church as by law Established, except himself, and those who joined him: for what he did in the Spirit, others must not imitate in the flesh. With equal strangeness, do the 'Brethren,' who have left the Establishment for conscience' sake, inveigh against private judgment, as a 'denial of the Spirit.' And while they voluntarily spend their energies or fortunes in the cause of Christ and their opinions, and repudiate all payment for chapel-pews as an intolerable taxation; they will not endure to be called 'Upholders of the Voluntary System.' Is it because the sound would offend aristocratic ears?

(2) A second feature that painfully characterizes them is, extreme despondency and gloominess of anticipations, greatly rising out of unreasonable discontent that not all men will agree with them. Keenly alive to discern the evil that is in the Christian world, they are singularly insensible to the good. To judge by their descriptions, never was religion in so deplorable a state in these kingdoms, since the Reformation. Every thing is too bad to be mended. The Churches are all bad: the Bible Society is bad: the Missionary Societies are bad: the Government is bad: the mob is bad: the old High Church is bad: the Evangelicals are bad: the Political Protestants are bad: the Universities are

bad : the Apostolicals are bad : the Whigs and Radicals are bad. The Establishment cannot be mended, the Dissenting churches cannot be improved. To come out and be separate is the sole remedy. They mourn that a nation should profess Christianity (for it is to unite the world and Christ), they mourn that it should profess infidelity : they mourn that (like America) it should profess nothing at all.

Again and again is it proclaimed by them, that *all the Churches are apostate*. This does not mean, that all the *individuals* are apostate. Far be it. But strange to say, they hold that each individual of a church may be an accepted worshipper of God, and yet the church *as a whole* (we suppose, 'its system'), may be apostate. We confess, we cannot get to the bottom of this : it is as though one were to say, that a Province is in rebellion, but all the inhabitants are loyal. One thing is clear ; that nothing will stop the heavy complaints of the Brethren, but an instantaneous millennium. According to a dogma which is constantly in their mouths : 'God never does patchwork.' He never renews into its primitive glory that which man has once corrupted : but he pulls down entirely, and builds something different. Consequently the Church cannot hope to regain her lost glory *in this Dispensation* : but we must anxiously look for a New Dispensation, by a new miraculous interference of Christ in his glory.

Now, far be it from us to undervalue the tenderness of conscience which detects and shrinks from evils, in whatever quarter it appear ; or that zeal for God, which ever cries out that His kingdom may come ! We could echo most of their complaints against human sin ; but we believe that it does no man good to dwell on this ; it rather sinks us into inactivity, than quickens us with hope ; nay, the tendency of it is to censoriousness and misanthropy. Desperate as was the state of the heathen and Jewish world, we do not see the apostle wasting his energies in lamentation or melancholy ; but he looks ever to the bright side of the picture ; he 'endures all things for the elect's sake, that they also may obtain the salvation which is in Christ Jesus with eternal glory.' No finite mind can bear the weight of a sinful world, and it seems not wise for a finite mind to meddle with that sorrow. At the same time, we must protest that it is an assumption quite ungrounded, that this generation is worse than those which preceded.* We believe that every well

* This is a question, the decision of which depends upon *historical information*. But 'the Brethren' treat it as though it were a doctrine of the Bible, and regard it as a mark of worldliness and carnal self-complacency, to hold the contrary. Indeed, they so slight historical inquiry, (as a 'mere worldly study') that one would suppose they believed that they received their decisions on such matters by a special revelation.

informed mind, will bless the Author of all good, natural and spiritual, that the past century has been one of great improvement; and it may be hard to conjecture what, except the growing power of popular sentiment, has conjured up in their minds notions so dismal.—Likewise, to assume, (as they do assume,) that we must separate from every society which in any respect acts as we think it should not, is alike monstrous and pernicious. It seems, we are to leave a Missionary Society, because some of its Auxiliaries have elected patrons, or passed complimentary resolutions, such as we disapprove; we are to leave one church, because it examines into the ‘experience’ of candidates; another, because it admits all upon a mere profession of faith; another, because it has many members whom we think to be unspiritual. We have no room to reason against that which, our readers will probably think, refutes itself.

But as we said, this is also connected with their unreasonable hankering after absolute unanimity. Here, unawares, they bring us back to the doctrines of the apostolicals, which sets much value on uniformity and mechanical agreement. Disagreement they urge, is the fruit of the flesh, and indicates how low we are in the Spirit; it is in itself a sin. To compromise with sin is sinful. ‘To agree to differ,’ is an odious policy, pursued indeed by common dissenters, but specially insulting to the Spirit. What else can this practically mean, than that it is our duty to be always restless, and always on the attack, until unanimity and uniformity are attained? But how shallow is that philosophy or that religion which *desires* uniformity in this world! It could not be attained without sacrificing all individuality of character, all peculiarity of education and experience. This world is a scene for the formation of mind, and in our progress towards perfect truth, there must needs be considerable difference of judgment. Such imperfections call forth many virtues which otherwise would have had no exercise. This is in entire consistency with the whole scheme of this world, and with the existence of physical evil. Moreover, God values *minds* and *hearts* more than the propositions or the systems which our minds contemplate; and for the due discipline and cultivation of the former, many a false step must ordinarily be made and discovered. Power must be gained by fatigues and by failures; humility must be taught by the consciousness of error; the feebleness, too, of the human judgment must be displayed by permanent and irreconcilable differences. Are we to break our hearts about this? But we are told, it is a mark of imperfection, a stain of sin; a scandal to the church! Happy is that family which can weep at the death of a sparrow; happy the people (may we add?) which can repent and confess their sin, that some of them are Presbyterians, and some Congregationalists. We are living in the

midst of grand realities ; it is a question of the world or Christ, irreligion or religion, death or life. We have no tears to spare for the absence or presence of a pulpit ; for pews or no pews ; nor for numerous doctrinal questions of far greater importance. It is practically impossible to make much of secondary matters, without making less of what is vital. If we are too busy in straining out gnats, we shall presently swallow a camel. If we sigh and groan that not all Christians admit of 'open ministry,' our hearts will become hard, on occasions really calling for sorrow. For ourselves, the longer we live, the more desperate do we become of any greater agreement between sincere Christians, than is contained in the barest fundamentals of the gospel ; and to attain even this, *joined with mutual forbearance* appears to us a thing most arduous, as most valuable. On the other hand, we regard it as an axiom, that this mutual tolerance is, humanly speaking, an essential prerequisite towards any increase of agreement.

(3.) A third most unhappy result of their principles, is in the absolute isolation of themselves from all other Christians. They say that they are excluded from all Dissenting churches by the act of the other party, who, by having fixed teachers, and fixed times for them to teach, grieve and quench the Spirit. Well, it is to be lamented. But do they forget, that others have an equal difficulty in bearing with the Plymouth views and practices ? It only proves the desperate nature of the attempt after uniformity. But there are various other ways in which goodwill is manifested, and confidence circulates among the members of Christ's body. In the last forty years, the rise of religious societies in which the members of many churches and sects can unite, has afforded a valuable opportunity of diffusing mutual esteem and respect, and manifesting mutual regard. Benevolent societies of various kinds have a like tendency : and a very few hours in the course of a year thus spent, may do much to counteract the prejudices fostered by only acting with those of our own sect. Farther, to advert to a point much pressed by the brethren : the importance that our unity should be *visible*, if it is to affect the world. The profane world is not so stupid as to suppose religious men to be at enmity, because they belong to different sects ; unless they see those sects refuse to combine on neutral ground, (pretending that nothing is neutral,) and seeking proselytes the one from the other. If such symptoms of hostility and rivalry are visible, doubtless the world is likely to think there is no Christian love among us ; perhaps with too much cause. But if there is a cordial union at bottom, which displays itself in joint labor in *some* religious objects, and naturally gives rise to the public interchange of friendly sentiment, this, (if anything) will convince the world that we have a real unity, though

no uniformity. The Brethren will no doubt reply, that all this talk is useless, for they have no choice; it is against their conscience and their principles to have to do with any religious or benevolent society. We know it is; but we ask, Ought not this to be a positive demonstration, that their conscience is ill-instructed, their principles wrong? Are they not hereby convicted as apostles of schism?

It must here be noticed, that they are now become a *sect*, even after their own definition of it. Once they used to assign as a reason why they would not join any body of Dissenters,—‘because they are all sects,’ a prejudice imbibed within the church that calls itself National. In proof of the assertion, they used to appeal to the fact, that wherever a Baptist goes, he may sit down with the Baptists, but with none others; and wherever a Methodist goes, he joins the Methodists, and so on. Hence a Baptist or a Methodist, is not a member of Christ’s church, but only of his own sect. We allow that if these ties can be considerably loosened, without opposite and greater evil, it is to be much desired. But now, how stands the matter? The Brethren have formed colonies at Exeter, Hereford, Worcester, Cirencester, London, and many other places; so that a brother in his travels to these cities, is welcomed within the bosom of his own community;* though indeed, if not, he would not join any other church. We ask, therefore, whether the Brethren are not become a sect, quite as truly as are all dissenting bodies? It is perhaps, time for one of themselves to proclaim their degeneracy; and (since “patching an apostate system” is hopeless) erect the standard for a new succession.†

(4.) But we must yet devote some remarks to their doctrines concerning the interpretation of Scripture, on which so very much practically depends. Their inconsistency on this head is so flagrant, that we cannot tell to what to impute it, but to the same spirit of despotism on which animadversion has been made. Their leading men have been educated at the Universities, and though not learned, are not unacquainted with literature. The pages of the Christian Witness show how little disposed they are to ac-

* Mr. Percy F. Hall, in his letter to Mr. Venn’s hearers, (p. 17) disowns all peculiar connection with the different churches of the sect. ‘I know,’ adds he, ‘no such mistaken title, as *one of the Brethren*, but that of *Christian* only.’ Is this fair or candid, when he refuses to hold communion with all other bodies, and holds communion with these bodies everywhere? And wherein is the title ‘Christian’ less assuming than the title ‘Brother?’

† This has actually taken place at Exeter, but not on any formidable scale. The complaint of the seceders, we believe was, that the rest domineered over them, and tried to quash by a tone of authority their too Calvinistic doctrine. The brethren at head-quarters hold but a very moderate Calvinism.

quiesce in the received translation of the Scriptures, or to renounce the advantages of an acquaintance with the original languages. A philosophical tone is occasionally assumed, as of one who is generalizing from an extensive knowledge of history; and we are safe in saying, that the writers would be sorry not to be thought men of information and sound acquirements. Yet having attained a certain amount of learning, and a certain exercise of mind in the acquirement, (be it what it may,) they are anxious to make a present of ignorance to all beside. That any one who is, or who is preparing to become a religious teacher, should meddle with Latin and Greek, is treated by them with grave rebuke or bitter raillery; to Dissenting Academies they cannot allude without an ecstasy of scorn. To judge by their practice, Greek, Hebrew, and History, are all valuable in the interpretation of Scripture: but if we believe their theory, a man is besotted with worldliness and 'common dissent,' who supposes these things of the slightest value. Certainly, the fewer there are in their church who can compete with the leading men in knowledge and in power of mind, the more docile the flocks are likely to be; but this is a carnal policy which Christ cannot bless. On the other hand, it is impossible to suppose, that those who so eagerly employ every scrap of literature which they acquired in past days, can sincerely hold the ignorant notion, that *all* the difficulties attending the interpretation of the Scriptures, rise out of our own carnal hearts. They know well, that a very large proportion is due to the circumstance that the Bible is an ancient book. They ought also to know, that an unexercised mind, however pious, is constantly embarrassed by mistaking difficulties which arise from worldly ignorance, for difficulties due to the spiritual nature of the subject. In such cases (as in all cases) prayer is doubtless good and right. But we are not generally to expect from mere prayer a relief from these perplexities, any more than a miraculous communication of the Greek language.

A natural result of the enthusiastic doctrines advanced concerning the unimportance of worldly knowledge, and the all-sufficiency of the Spirit and prayer, is, that self-confidence, which is the fruitful parent of frivolous fancies and conceits, obtruded upon us as divine mysteries. Those who wish to see the painful but instructive spectacle of prophecy and the Mosaic Law turned into a fit subject for infidel mockery, may read the numerous discussions on these subjects in the *Christian Witness*.

But we must in conclusion draw attention to a particularly hurtful part of their moral system, rising out of their merely literal interpretations of two or three texts, in which, as we think, the spirit is miserably sacrificed to the letter. From the precept "not to resist evil," they deduce the unlawfulness of a Christian holding any office of magistracy, in which he may be called on to inflict

punishment on a culprit. From the mention also of the devil as prince and god of this world, they infer that to hold office under the civil government, is to pollute oneself with the evil things of Satan. Then (as may be seen fully set forth in Mr. P. F. Hall's book entitled "Discipleship"), they explain away the apostolic declaration that magistracy is an ordinance of God, into the empty notion that *all* the events of providence are ordered by him, as are tempests and earthquakes. Thus the sceptre of Queen Victoria, and the pistol of a piratical chief are made equally respectable. Mr. Hall, indeed, in his letter to Mr. Venn's hearers, declares (p. 21), that it is "*not true*" that he holds the government of this world to be under the devil's guidance. To us it appears that his own book, "Discipleship," plainly proves that it *is* true. Doubtless he allows in word that magistrates are "God's ministers," but he denies it in fact. He believes, (as we all believe), that God regulates and controuls even the devil's acts, and the acts of evil men; but he teaches that magistracy is no more of God, than piracy is: and his only reason for obeying the magistrate (as far as we can find) is, because we "ought not to resist evil."

Now to us it appears that the thirteenth Chapter of the Romans was written precisely and pointedly against the very error, which he and all his party hold. To this error, the ancient disciples, from their position, were peculiarly subject. They beheld the powers of the world leagued to support idolatry; they knew their oppressions to be often enormous: they had heard of different evil spirits as lords of particular countries, and generally, that the devil was the prince of this world.

It was natural for them to infer that magistracy, *as such*, was an evil thing, and not of God. It was established by violence and injustice, supported by force, and constantly applied to wicked purposes. Yet, in spite of this, Paul positively assures them it was an ordinance of God to them for good. It was, indeed, their sole human defence against the bigotry of mobs, stirred up by avarice or hatred on the part of individuals. He alleges that the Christian "must needs be subject, not only for wrath, but also for conscience' sake:" whereas it is evident that we are subjected to a cut-throat solely for "wrath," and not also for conscience' sake. Some persons might imagine (with Mr. Hall), that the "powers which be" are of Satan, and only the "powers which *shall be*" of God: but Paul teaches, that the powers of the world which *now is*, as well as the powers of the world to come, are ordained of God. If any of the Plymouth brethren have (as is reported), renounced lucrative situations in India, because they would not be made partners to idolatry, we honour them for it. This is to instruct the civil powers in righteousness, by a self-sacrifice which shall prove at length fruitful of good. But if any have given up their places with no other complaint against the

government, except the bare fact, that *it is* a government, and justly punishes malefactors; we are unable to honour such, for a conduct which must tend to a dissolution of civil society. Had Mr. P. F. Hall, on renouncing his naval pay and rank, confined his protest to the iniquity of selling one's conscience and sword to the government, to be employed in any war, just or unjust; we think he would have acted with wisdom, as well as Christian uprightness. But he could not be satisfied, without condemning simultaneously the policeman, the magistrate, the sovereign; without calling on every true Christian to leave these important posts to be occupied by all the rogues of the land, and confounding one who "rules in the fear of God," with the mercenary soldier of fortune, or a captain of banditti. By setting up so sweeping an argument he has neutralized his protest, and made his book a delusive and mischievous production. We are sorry to have introduced his name thus prominently, while wishing to speak rather of opinions and systems than persons: nor should we have done so, were not his doctrines current in the whole body, and he himself from the beginning a most prominent individual among them. While this error is in theory a libel and affront upon magistracy, it is in practice used to strengthen despotism. A Christian is forbidden even to plead his civil rights against illegal violence, lest he should be using carnal weapons. Let but one entire generation of Christians imbibe this doctrine, and a slavish abjectness of mind will be the certain result.

Art. VII. *Lectures on Rhetoric and Criticism, and on Subjects Introductory to the Critical Study of the Scriptures.* By the Rev. STEPHENSON MACGILL, D.D., Professor of Theology in the University of Glasgow. 8vo. Edinburgh: Oliphant and Son. London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co.

THE times we live in are characterized by marked and strong features. The mental evolutions and intellectual transitions that are passing before us in unusually rapid succession, though by no means graceful and pleasing in all their aspects, yet indicate that human nature is not growing old, nor its powers becoming effœte. No one can complain, that mankind are inactive, quiescent, disposed to live upon the wisdom of their ancestors, or to repose in opinions and sentiments once considered settled. Without affirming, that activity of mind, or to use a current term, that *movement*, proves a healthy state,—for preternatural activity or restlessness may be the indication of disease and forerunner of decay, just as excessive mental activity is the symptom

of several kinds of insanity,--yet a little eccentricity and a good deal of lost labour, are better than apathy and sluggishness. Rather than have our children dull and slothful, we tolerate their exuberant spirits, and pardon many a mischievous act, in the hope that their energies may hereafter be turned to good account, and their lawless activity chasten itself into useful and steady exertion. Most elements that ferment with violence, defecate themselves in due course, presenting, at length, some new and useful properties which had been created or evolved during the process. Frequently the period occupied by the *movement*, presents no qualities agreeable to the senses, but another period succeeds, in which we find the whole mass most pleasantly changed. We gain a result which at one time appeared very unlikely, but which was the direct effect of the strange mixture and strong excitement, and which, moreover, could have been produced in no other way.

It is not our intention to enter, at present, into any delineation of the phases of these remarkable times--though we seriously think a comprehensive survey and analysis of the mind of the nation, as it is put forth at present, in different directions towards politics, religion, science, the fine arts, commercial arts, and general literature, might be made highly instructive and useful. Our primary intention was to notice the altered, and we willingly add, improved state of the religious mind, in its relation to the progress and prospects of the Christian cause. For although there are many symptoms attending the altered state of the religious bodies, which are far enough from indicating that sort of improvement which we should deem desirable, and some which are deplorable enough, yet, upon the whole, the agitation of controversy, and even the freaks of fanaticism, are doing good. As for instance, the controversy which began in Scotland, and has spread over England, upon the preferableness of a voluntary to a coerced support of the gospel, has done good service--if not to the theories men hold, yet to their practice, and to the promotion of Christianity. For while Churchmen are as loud as ever in their execration and condemnation of the voluntary principle, they are every where becoming converts to it in practice; and within seven years will be found to have done more, by its operation alone, for the formation of their own views of religion, than could have been effected by all the parliamentary grants which even Lord Liverpool would have bestowed upon them, if he had continued prime minister during ten times that period. But when we advert still further to the concentration of effort for extension making by the Methodist body--the onward movements less imposing, and perhaps really less vigorous, though from the consolidated nature of the bodies, less observable, yet, we hope, not less steady and creditable to the Christian name, making by other

classes of Dissenters—we cannot but believe, that the aspect of the times is upon the whole highly auspicious to the Christian cause. We say this considerably, even keeping in view the astounding and extensive apostacy towards Popery within the Church: and the alleged spread of professed Popery out of the Church, and adding to both, the demoralizing atheism which Robert Owen is spreading through the manufacturing districts, and the transcendental spiritualism and Millenarism which have been brought into combination with Sandimanianism by the Plymouth brethren, and which already boasts of some eighty societies in various parts of the kingdom. Though there are unquestionably some symptoms which are far from bearing a favourable augury, yet there are others highly gratifying and hopeful. The rapid increase of places of worship—and the probability of their augmentation for years to come, and that among all denominations—the attention which is being drawn, through the agency of Home and City Missions, to the neglected masses—the improving efficiency and extension of the Sunday-school system—the rapid and almost boundless extension of the Tract Society's labours—the great advances made, and still making, in clerical and ministerial education—the multiplication and improved efficiency of schools and colleges for this especial purpose—all indicate that Christianity at home, is pluming her wings for a loftier and more extensive flight; and when we add to these observations, the augmenting resources, enlarging machinery, and growing successes of all the missionary establishments, we cannot resist the conviction, that the Christian cause is on the eve of a more auspicious era than it has ever yet seen since the days of the apostles, perhaps even surpassing them in the spread of its benedictions and numerical strength of its subjects.

But, to confine our attention to the home section of this wide and complicated subject, we beg the reader's permission to say, that it appears to us, the pulpit is designed to be yet raised to a higher degree of efficiency and success, because it is both naturally fitted for far more extensive impression, and is substantially ordained of God, or instituted by him, as one of the chief means of bringing about that mighty change in the state of human nature which the divine promises warrant us to expect. It cannot be disputed, that a great and important change has taken place in the direct usefulness and impression of pulpit addresses within the last twenty or thirty years: as little can it be doubted that it may and most probably will, attain a far higher degree of efficiency in another generation. We certainly look with deep interest to this quarter for something like new and youthful freshness to the ministry of the gospel—and for no inconsiderable measure of that success which, under the divine blessing, we are prepared to anticipate for the cause of the gospel at home, and which will neces-

sarily infuse new vigour into all its enterprizes abroad. If, as appears highly probable, and many of the wisest men in Christendom think, Great Britain is destined to take the largest share in evangelizing the world, then assuredly there may be expected, as there certainly must first be found, a very considerable revival and enlargement of the Christian cause at home. The waters which yet flow but in rills and ankle deep, must rise to the knees and to the loins. It appears to us equally obvious, that this will be brought about by an increased efficiency of some of the means already instituted of God, perhaps of all of them, but most certainly by that one, which, from specimens that might be named, appears susceptible of great improvement, and of that very efficiency which might in the shortest time place the cause of the gospel in that station of general and commanding influence to which it is unquestionably ordained. It is not for us to speculate too confidently upon the future. Nor would we dogmatically pronounce upon the improbability of any new or additional means of success; but certainly, while extraordinary endowments are withheld, and the command remains, and is considered obligatory, to preach the gospel to every creature, we must look to the pulpit, and the pulpit occupied by men, not following behind their generation, but men of God, in whom his word richly dwells, for that measure of success which we believe will attend them, and to which they will devoutly and eagerly aspire.

On this account it is, that we regard with deep interest both the society which has for its exclusive object the circulation of the inspired word in all languages, and every institution, as well as every publication, which is designed to assist in improving the qualification of those who have cheerfully devoted themselves to the office of gospel-preachers. This suggests the additional observation, that the age we live in has done incomparably more to aid the studies and minister to the thorough equipment of the class of men needed by the church and the world, and now girding themselves for their work, than any that has gone before. The amount of intellect, research, labour, and erudition brought to bear upon the defence, elucidation, and enforcement of the inspired record, was never so great nor so accessible; consequently, divine providence appears herein to have been providing the requisite furniture, in a far more ample manner, and on easier terms than formerly, for the equipment of those whose lot it will be, in coming times, to lead on the Christian host in its conflict with the powers of darkness. It is to be hoped all such as are now in their course of preparation, will both know the resources that are placed within their reach, and zealously avail themselves of whatever may fit them to come forth in due season as men of God thoroughly furnished for every good work.

While one considerable class of our Timothies are instructed by their guides to study the 'endless genealogies' of apostolical succession, and the 'old wives' fables' of tradition, that minister strife, rather than godly edifying, we cannot but express our confidence in the piety and wisdom of those guides in our own colleges, who are faithfully and conscientiously directing the devoted youths under their care to the 'more sure word of testimony,' and to its exclusive authority. The principles of a sound Protestantism are all included in the *one foundation*—other than which no man can lay, though he be learned as Paley, devout as Newman, and zealous as Froude.

We rejoice to think, that a theology fundamentally different from theirs is taught in all our dissenting colleges. The exclusive authority of the Bible is rigidly maintained. The students are trained to a critical and devout examination of its contents, and their attention is constantly and anxiously drawn to every quarter from which they may derive assistance in understanding the mind of the Spirit in the word, without appealing to the inward light of the fanatics, or troubling themselves with the endless entanglements and absurdities of tradition. If we might be permitted to suggest a single remark upon this subject to the attention of Theological Professors in our own colleges, it should be restricted to the present topic—the temper and the controversies of the times seem to demand a renewed, increased, and quickened attention to the fundamental proposition of Protestantism, the sufficiency of Holy Scripture—and upon that point we trust every dissenting minister that comes forth from our colleges will be 'a scribe well instructed.' Upon this, and some collateral subjects, we should feel disposed to enlarge had we not the fullest assurance that the necessity for any such suggestions is altogether superseded by the admirable courses of theological instruction which are pursued. We trust we shall be pardoned for this allusion to a class of gentlemen whose merits and services are neither adequately appreciated by the public, nor suitably rewarded, except by the respectful gratitude and ministerial success of the individuals whom, from time to time, they send forth to the service and superintendence of the churches.

These observations have been suggested by the perusal of Dr. Macgill's Lectures in the Divinity Hall at Glasgow University, and which, though designed immediately for the instruction of the students intended for the Scottish Church, are a valuable service rendered to the common cause of ministerial education. There is nothing in these lectures to render them unsuitable for the perusal of students pertaining to other Protestant communities. They are confined to topics equally interesting to all students of the Bible—at least all who have the ministry in view,

and by such all the matters brought forward in these lectures ought to be thoroughly understood. We shall now proceed to give some account of the contents of the volume.

The first three lectures are devoted to the origin and progress of language—the two following to the origin and progress of writing. In these the author presents a condensed view of what is known upon these interesting subjects, but does not enter very minutely into them. We could almost wish that he had treated them more fully, and presented the results of those elaborate speculations upon language which have been pursued by the Germans and other continental scholars and philosophers. In the sixth lecture he treats upon the manuscripts of the Old Testament, and in the seventh on those of the New. The eighth and ninth exhibit a succinct account of the principal versions, and in the tenth he considers the peculiar characters of the different languages of the Old and New Testaments. He then proceeds in the eleventh lecture to the general ends of writing and public speaking; and in the three following lectures treats of the means by which these ends may be best accomplished. In the fifteenth he treats of figures of speech—in the sixteenth on style generally, and the style of the Scriptures. The seventeenth is on imitation and the imitative arts—the eighteenth is on poetry and sacred history—the nineteenth on historical writing—the twentieth on epistolary—twenty-first is on our imperfect knowledge—twenty-second on discourse—twenty-third on pronunciation and delivery—twenty-fourth on the means of excellence in writing and public speaking—twenty-fifth on the duties of ministers. The *appendix* contains a short account of Hebrew verse.

We beg to present the following citation as a specimen of the manner in which our author treats the important subject of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament.

‘The general integrity of the Hebrew text, and its freedom from any material corruption in the course of so many ages, is a wonderful fact, of which a combination of proofs from various quarters assures us. The deep veneration with which the Scriptures were viewed by all ranks of the nation of Israel; the peculiar constitution and observances appointed by their great legislator, and in all ages held sacred; the division of the people into separate tribes, under distinct rulers and heads; the priests and Levites settled in every quarter of the country; the various courts of justice, from the smallest to the greatest, appointed to try every offence, according to the divine law; the various assemblies where the Scriptures were publicly read and expounded; the division of the kingdom into two rival nations; their various sects; their academies and schools from early ages; their dispersion into various quarters of the world; their synagogues in every country, where the Hebrew Scriptures were read and interpreted; the mutual jealousy of Jews and Christians; the various translations and commentaries of the

Scriptures in various languages ; and, finally, the immense number of manuscripts which are found among nations very distant, and among people of very different characters and opinions,—these, with many internal evidences, combine to show, that the Scriptures of the Old Testament have been preserved with the greatest care from any material vitiation.

Let us not, however, on the other hand, fall into the untenable opinion, that, in all the various and multiplied copies made in different ages and places, and by a great variety of persons, no differences in some minute particulars have taken place. This could not have been without a continued miracle ; and we know from an examination of manuscripts is not the case. We might as well expect that every copy of the printed Bible must be free from those typographical errors, into which printers occasionally fall. But the collection of manuscripts, while it presents us with various readings, affords the following important advantages ; it shows to us general accordance in all important statements and doctrines ; and the comparatively trivial nature of most of the variations. It affords us also the means of *rectifying*, by a candid inquiry, those occasional differences. And, lastly, it enables us to remove some difficulties and obscurities, which, in the changes of manner, and the revolutions of ages, have arisen.

To form just conceptions on this subject, it may be useful to state a few facts in the history of the Jews, from the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, till the revival of learning in Europe. When the judgment of God had overtaken that devoted city, the Jews were dispersed in great multitudes throughout all the provinces of the empire ; but still a considerable number, either remained, or returned to reside in different parts of Judea. The converts to Christianity, both Jews and Gentiles, also received as sacred, the law and the prophets ; and read both publicly and privately, the Old Testament Scriptures. Wherever Jews and Christians settled, there were these sacred writings read and studied. In the synagogues, they continued to be read in the original Hebrew ; and were expounded in the vernacular language to the people. And a peculiar order of men, who seem to have been appointed from the earliest times, had the charge of transcribing copies of them, with careful accuracy, both for public and private use. But while the Scriptures of the Old Testament were thus carried into every country where Jews and Christians were settled, history calls our attention chiefly to *two great stations*, where the Jews in greatest numbers resided ; where they had colleges and synagogues ; and where some of their most eminent men devoted themselves to the study and explanation of the Old Testament. The first of these was at *Tiberias*, in Galilee.

Several of the most learned men of the Jews, we are informed, after the destruction of Jerusalem, met together at Jafra, and there formed a school, which was attended with considerable success. The numbers who returned to Palestine, having by degrees increased, an academy was formed at Tiberias. Here, also, their patriarch, or head, fixed his residence ; and it became in process of time, the chief seat of Jewish learning.

‘From the time of the first captivity, however, great numbers, instead of returning to Judea, continued to reside in Babylon and its neighbourhood. In this country, being free from the tyranny of the Romans, they enjoyed peace and comparative prosperity. They had also a *chief*, denominated the Prince of the Captivity; and they had several colleges, and great numbers of synagogues. At these colleges, the sacred law was the principal object of their study: and, under the inspection of their chief men, copies of the Scriptures were written and circulated.

‘Besides these two great stations, the Jews were settled in Persia, and other eastern countries. Multitudes of them, also, took refuge in Egypt, particularly in Alexandria, where many of their countrymen had been settled since the time of the celebrated Alexander. Many of them likewise fled to Cyrene, and there became numerous and powerful. In all these places, they had their synagogues and copies of the sacred Scriptures. After the reign of Adrian, the Jews were favoured by the various succeeding emperors; and soon settled in great numbers, not only in the provinces, but in Italy; and new academies and synagogues were established both in the east and in the west.’
—pp. 78--81.

The learned author then proceeds to give a sketch of the measures pursued by the Jews in various ages for preserving their writings in their original integrity—and then brings down the history to the times in which the collection and collation of sacred Hebrew manuscripts became an object of interest and importance to Christian scholars. The labour of Kennicot and De Rossi are duly noted and celebrated.

Upon that portion of the volume which is, strictly speaking, introductory to the critical study of the Scriptures, and which occupies about 150 pages, we shall offer an observation or two before we proceed to speak of those lectures which relate to the public discharge of the preacher's and pastor's office. We think the author has done good service to the rising ministry, by bringing into a small compass a great body of very valuable and generally very sound and established information. It has struck us, that this part of the work is scarcely minute enough—that by exercising a little condensation a great deal more instruction might have been given—and that for the full elucidation of the very important subjects brought before the student references ought to have been given to authorities in proof of the most essential statements, as well as to works in which those who felt disposed, might pursue their inquiries to greater length. Indeed, we consider it a great defect, that Dr. Macgill supplies no clue to his authorities, or to other sources of information; and that in all his quotations he never condescends to inform the students where he may find the extract. This, it is true, would have been tiresome in a lecture orally delivered, but it seems essential to

the completeness of the same lecture when printed. The value of the volume altogether, but especially of that part which is introductory to the Scriptures, would be enhanced both by a particular reference to the authorities on which the author rests his statements, and by the mention of works in which the reader might pursue such inquiries as the learned professor could only slightly touch. All such lectures, it appears to us, should be accompanied with a copious and well selected *apparatus* of references. Without them the student is constrained to rest on the exclusive authority of his teacher, instead of being led to those sources from which he might verify his knowledge and judge for himself.

The larger portion of these lectures relates to the qualifications requisite for the efficient discharge both of the preacher's and pastor's office. Dr. Macgill writes upon these subjects with great judgment, and after much experience and observation. His instructions well deserve the attention of all clerical students who are anxious to attain to excellence in the discharge of their ministerial duties. His instructions upon preaching and pulpit oratory are excellent. We select the following as an average specimen of the very judicious manner in which he treats this part of his subject.

‘To secure a favourable attention, it is necessary that we enjoy the respect of our hearers. If, then, we manifest an unworthy state of mind; such as indifference to the truths which we teach, and to the object which we profess ourselves desirous to attain; we then must be contemplated not only without favour, but with a dissatisfaction approaching to contempt. But when we manifest the power of good feeling, and a state of mind congenial to our subject, and the end we seek,—all is in harmony. The justness of our feelings produces sympathy and respect. The hearers feel the strongest conviction of our sincerity, and place confidence in our statements. And in proportion to the importance of our subject, do they feel affection to a speaker, whose mind is so earnest in the prosecution of what is good. They are thus in the most favourable state for corresponding with our views, and listening with undivided attention to all our statements. The language and the manner of affection touch those chords which vibrate with corresponding emotion. Such is our nature. The very look and tones of joy or grief, immediately affect us, and dispose us to inquire after their cause. With the man of insensibility we have no sympathy. And when we see indifference, when a strong desire of success should be seen, we turn from him with pain and disgust. We suspect his sincerity. If you wish us to feel, why feel you not yourself? If the end which you pursue be important, why do you not manifest your conviction of its importance? Can you believe in these statements, and remain unconcerned? Your manner contradicts your words, and gives the lie to your affirmations.

‘But these observations, if they apply to every public speaker, how

strongly do they apply to a preacher of the gospel? 'Though you give the holy things of God,' said Baxter, 'the highest promises in words, if you do it coldly, you will unsay, by your manner, all that ye have said. It is a kind of contempt of great things, especially so great as these, to speak of them without great affection and fervency.' Remember that the seriousness—the weight, the earnestness, sometimes the pathos and the tenderness of manner, which proceed from a mind occupied with divine things, animated by a sense of their unspeakable importance, and strongly alive to the spiritual well-being of his people, can alone rouse and arrest attention—overbear prejudice and opposition—awaken holy purposes—shake the soul of the hardened—and raise the mind in devout affection and desire to God, and to heaven. Never will the great ends of the Christian ministry be accomplished, either by the cold and insipid reasoner, or the vain and pompous declaimer; nor even by the animated pictures of mere fancy and insensibility. It is the expression and manner of RELIGIOUS FEELING alone, which will produce religious feeling in the breasts of other men. 'That is not the best sermon,' says Bishop Burnet, 'which makes the hearers go away, talking to one another and praising the speaker, but that which makes them go away thoughtful and serious, and hastening to be alone.' 'And,' says Dr. Witherspoon, who was an acute observer of human life, 'there is a piercing heat and penetrating force in that which flows from the heart, which distinguishes it not only from the coldness of indifference, but also from the false fire of enthusiasm or vain glory.' Let me cite two passages more, from two writers of different characters, which merit your attention. 'On no subject,' says Dr. Blair, 'can any man be truly eloquent who does not utter the *veræ voces ab imo pectori*. If this holds on other kinds of speaking, it certainly holds in the highest degree in preaching. There it is of the utmost consequence, that the preacher firmly believe both the truth and importance of those principles which he inculcates on others; not only that he believes them speculatively, but has a lively and serious feeling of them. This will always give an earnestness and strength, a fervour of piety to his exhortations, superior in its effects to all the arts of studied eloquence; and without it, the assistance of art will seldom be able to conceal the mere declaimer. A spirit of true piety would prove the most effectual guard against those errors which preachers are apt to commit. It would make their discourses solid, cogent, and useful; it would prevent those frivolous and ostentatious harangues, which have no other aim than merely to make a parade of speech, or amuse an audience. 'Nothing,' he observes, 'is so fatal to success in preaching, as a dry manner; a dry sermon can never be a good one. Correct language, and elegant description, are but the secondary instruments of preaching in an interesting manner. The great secret lies in bringing home all that is spoken to the hearts of his hearers.'

'It would make a man's heart ache,' said the ardent and pious Baxter, 'to see a number of dead and drowsy sinners, sit under a minister without having a word to quicken or awaken them. The blow falls often so light, that hard hearted persons cannot feel. How plain, how close, how serious should we be in delivering a message of

such importance as ours, when the everlasting life or death of man is concerned in it ! Whatever you do, let the people see that you are in good earnest. You cannot soften men's hearts by jesting with them, or telling a smooth tale, or hatching a gaudy oration. I seldom come out of the pulpit, but my conscience smites me, that I have been no more serious and fervent. It accuses me not so much for want of elegance or human ornaments, nor for letting fall an unhandsome word ; but it asks me, how could thou speak of everlasting life and death, with such a heart ! How couldst thou preach of heaven and hell, in so careless and sleepy a manner ? Dost thou believe what thou sayest ? Art thou in earnest or in jest ? How canst thou tell people that sin is so great an evil, and the consequences so dreadful, without being more affected by it ? Should thou not weep over sinners, even till thy tears interrupt thy words ? Cry aloud, and show them their transgressions, —entreat them to repent and believe with the utmost importunity.'

—pp. 212—215.

We cannot dismiss Dr. Macgill's volume without expressing our thanks for what he has done to assist and improve the rising ministry. They will no doubt duly appreciate his services. The chief thought by way of animadversion, which has occurred to us, is that the two great subjects on which he treats would have been better treated separately. The introduction to the critical study of the Scriptures might with great propriety have been enlarged, and rendered much more useful by a notice somewhat extended of the critical labours of the continental theologians. Much important matter has within the last half century been accumulated by the Germans, and very valuable instruction for young students might be gleaned from that quarter ; but Dr. Macgill leaves us to doubt whether he is familiar with the researches of those learned critics, or whether he recommends them to the attention of his students.

We may be permitted, in closing this article, to say, that a small but highly valuable *Tractate upon pastoral duties and preaching*, entitled 'Counsels to a Young Minister,' has just appeared from the pen of Dr. Leifchild, which as closely connected with the subject of the volume before us, we take this opportunity of commending to our clerical readers and to theological students. We have perused it with much pleasure, and think that the stirring appeals and practical wisdom it displays, will render it eminently useful to many young ministers. We were anxious to give it this passing notice thus early, lest we should not find a favourable opportunity of bringing it more formally before the attention of our readers.

Brief Notices.

A Dictionary of Arts, Manufactures, and Mines, containing a clear Exposition of their Principles and Practice. By Andrew Ure, M. D. Illustrated with Twelve Hundred and Forty Engravings on Wood. London: Longman and Co., 1839.

We frankly confess, though somewhat against the rules of our fraternity, that we have not read through this volume. This acknowledgment is due to ourselves as well as to our readers, none of whom will be surprised at the fact, when informed that the volume contains thirteen hundred and thirty-four pages of small, but clear letter-press. In the progress of the publication, however, and more especially since its appearance in the form before us, we have had an opportunity of acquainting ourselves sufficiently with its contents, to justify our speaking in no measured terms of its value. It is a work of immense and well-digested information, calculated at once to gratify an intelligent curiosity, and to further the practical applications of science. Some portions of it might possibly have been executed with greater perfection, if its preparation had been delegated to many hands; but no one man in the kingdom could certainly have accomplished more than Dr. Ure has done; nay, we question whether another could have been found to perform so much. The course adopted, and the principles which have regulated his procedure, are thus distinctly stated in his preface:

‘It is the business of operative industry to produce, transform, and distribute, all such material objects as are suited to satisfy the wants of mankind. The primary production of these objects is assigned to the husbandman, the fisherman, and the miner; their transformation to the manufacturer and artisan; and their distribution to the civil engineer, shipwright, and sailor. . . . The task which I have undertaken in the present work, is to describe and explain the transformations of these primary materials, by mechanical and chemical agencies, into general objects of exchangeable value; leaving, on the one hand, to the mechanical engineer, that of investigating the motive powers of transformation and transport; and, on the other hand, to the handicraftsman, that of tracing their modifications in objects of special or local demand. . . . Such are the principles which have served to guide me in selecting articles for the present volume. By them, as a clue, I have endeavoured to hold a steady course through the vast and otherwise perplexing labyrinth of arts, manufactures, and mines; avoiding, alike, engineering and mechanical arts which cause no change in the texture or constitution of matter, and handicraft operations which are multiform, capricious, and hardly susceptible of scientific investigation.’

The following is the author’s summary of the objects which he has endeavoured to accomplish; and it is not too much to affirm, that he has been as felicitous in the execution of his plan, as its range is comprehensive and vast.

First—To instruct the Manufacturer, Metallurgist, and Tradesman, in the principles of their respective processes, so as to render them in reality the masters of their business, and to emancipate them from a state of bondage to operatives—too commonly the slaves of blind prejudice and vicious routine.

Secondly—To afford to Merchants, Brokers, Drysalters, Druggists, and Officers of the Revenue, characteristic descriptions of the commodities which pass through their hands.

Thirdly—By exhibiting some of the finest developements of Chemistry and Physics, to lay open an excellent practical school to Students of these kindred Sciences.

Fourthly—To teach Capitalists, who may be desirous of placing their funds in some productive branch of industry, to select judiciously among plausible claimants.

Fifthly—To enable Gentlemen of the Law to become well acquainted with the nature of those Patent Schemes which are so apt to give rise to litigation.

Sixthly—To present to our Legislators such a clear exposition of our Staple Manufactures, as may dissuade them from enacting Laws which obstruct industry, or cherish one branch of it to the injury of many others. And

Lastly—To give the General Reader, intent chiefly on intellectual cultivation, a view of many of the noblest achievements of science, in effecting those grand transformations of matter to which Great Britain owes her paramount wealth, rank, and power among the Kingdoms.

The Claims of Episcopacy refuted, in a Review of the Essays of the Right Rev. Bishop Hobart, and other Advocates of Diocesan Episcopacy. By the late Rev. John Mason, D.D., of New York. With an Introduction and Appendix by the Rev. John Blackburn. London: Jackson and Walford. 12mo.

This is a well-timed reprint from the American press, and is every way worthy of the distinction thus conferred upon it. Of the high qualities of its author, Dr. Mason, we need say nothing;—they are known and admitted by all our readers. His ‘Plea for Catholic Communion’ is alone sufficient to establish his claim to rank among the foremost and most enlightened disputants of his day. Intent on unsectarianizing Christianity, he was equally opposed to the proud claims of episcopacy, and to the narrow and selfish views of less ostentatious theories. His hostility to the former led him to prepare an elaborate article for the *Christian Magazine*, of which he was the editor; in which he ably argues, that Diocesan Episcopacy is neither sustained by the official names of the New Testament; nor by the order of the Jewish priesthood; nor by our Lord’s arrangements during his earthly ministry; nor by a reference to New Testament facts; nor by the official character of the apostle James; nor by the epistles to the Seven Churches; nor by the official character of Timothy and Titus; nor by the testimony of the Christian fathers. The discussion of these points necessarily brings under review all the leading questions of the episcopal controversy; and the Doctor conducts his case with eminent ability and success. His language is sometimes severe, but not more so than the assumptions and misdeeds of episcopal advocates warrant. By the re-publication of this treatise, Mr. Blackburn has rendered an important service which we trust will be duly appreciated. His brief Introduction fully establishes the propriety of thoroughly sifting the nature of a system which looks contemptuously on the far greater part of Protestant Christendom, and condemns, as unauthorized and presumptuous meddlers, a large majority of those who are zealously and success-

fully labouring for the spiritual benefit of mankind. 'When men of learning, genius, and moral worth,' he remarks, 'appropriate to themselves and their episcopal brethren the divine and exclusive right of administering the word and sacraments, and assert, with a dogmatism that cannot fail to awe, and with a diligence that must necessarily impress timid and susceptible minds, that they alone constitute the only visible apostolic church in the realm, it assuredly is no evidence of a love of controversy, that we defend our own ministry from such attacks, and publish arguments which may reprove this spirit of assumption, and point out some of the consequences which must follow the concession of such claims.'

We take our leave of Mr. Blackburn, with hearty thanks for the service he has rendered by the publication of this volume, which we recommend to the early and attentive consideration of all our readers.

Hymns and Fire-Side Verses. By Mary Howitt. London: Darton and Clark. 1839.

A beautiful little volume, admirably suited 'to make the spirit of Christianity an endeared and familiar fire-side guest.' Its chaste and lovely spirit is in happy keeping with the style of its versification, and can scarcely fail to win the affections, while the latter gratifies the taste of a cultivated reader.

The Fathers and Founders of the London Missionary Society; including Authentic Memoirs of those distinguished Men, and Historical Notices of the several Protestant Missions. By John Morison, D.D. Part I. London: Fisher, Son, and Co.

A more appropriate opportunity for criticism will occur in the progress of this work; and we shall therefore, at present, do little more than announce its general scope, and record our judgment on the style in which the first course is served up. The work is to consist of from eight to ten monthly parts, price three shillings each, and is to be illustrated by several portraits of the most distinguished of those whose biographies it contains. It is divided into three parts; in the first of which the influence of Methodism on the spirit of modern missions is traced out; the second will be devoted to an historical sketch of the principal Societies which have attempted the evangelization of the heathen; and the third will consist of biographical sketches of those who were foremost in the formation of the London Missionary Society. The first of these divisions is completed in the present part, and furnishes therefore the fairest subject for criticism. We have perused it with unmingled pleasure, and should fail to do justice to ourselves, as well as to Dr. Morison, if we did not record the fact. It is at once lucid in arrangement, sufficiently ample in point of detail, catholic in its spirit, and eminently useful in its tendency. Let the other parts of the work be completed in the same style, and it will constitute one of the most instructive and interesting publications of modern times. The title which has been adopted does not appear to us to be very felicitous. Its

fitness may probably be more apparent in the progress of the work ; but at present it seems ill chosen.

The Notes of the Church, as laid down by Cardinal Bellarmine, examined and confuted in a Series of Tracts. Parts I.—III. London : Samuel Holdsworth. 1839.

The political protestantism of the present day is one of the worst features of the times. It only serves to exasperate opponents, and thus to render their hostility to scriptural truth more inveterate and rancorous. The thing which is made to pass for protestantism is as unlike the reality as light is to darkness ; nevertheless, it is obtruded on public attention as such, and is found admirably to serve the factious purposes of its advocates. The present publication has its origin in this phrenzy of a party, and is ushered into the world by a preface which magnifies the ‘convincing, truly protestant, and logical masterpieces of eloquent reasoning with which the intelligent public, not alone of Great Britain, but of the civilized world, is every day instructed’ in the leading articles of the Times. This flourish of trumpets might have been spared, and the reprint before us would have suffered nothing in the estimation of judicious men. It is an invaluable work on the popish controversy, the circulation of which ought not to be impeded by any attempt to identify it with the political partisanship of a faction. It consists of a series of tracts written by Tenison, Patrick, Sherlock, and other eminent divines of the English church under James the Second ; in reply to Cardinal Bellarmine’s celebrated work. The style of these tracts has been modernized—a fact which we greatly regret ; but an assurance is given that no alteration is made in ‘the mode or character of the argument.’ We hope this pledge will be faithfully redeemed ; in which case, though we greatly mistrust the parentage of the publication, we shall be glad to do all in our power to aid its circulation.

Ball’s Graphic Library for Domestic Instruction. The Life of Christ Illustrated. Part II. London : Ball and Co.

In perfect keeping with its predecessor. Beautiful in its wood-cuts, and thoroughly useful in its tendency, it cannot fail to gratify and instruct the juvenile reader.

An Essay on the Evils of Popular Ignorance. By John Foster. Published by the Bristol Society for the Promotion of Popular Instruction. London : Hamilton and Co.

The “Essay on Popular Ignorance” for eighteen pence ! Truly we live in marvellous times. What will happen next we are at a loss to divine. Let us be thankful that even poverty itself, is now no bar to the possession of some of the most masterly productions of the human intellect. Such is the character of the Essay before us ; respecting the reprint of which, we need do nothing more than transcribe the following paragraph, appended by the Author to his Preface.

‘With a view to a wider circulation than that which is limited by the price of the volume, published in a form and style of printing suited to readers who are not indifferent to the *appearance* of a book, and of which volume more than a fourth part consists of a Discourse (or Essay) on the propagation of Christianity in India, it has been deemed advisable to print a very cheap edition of the “Essay on Popular Ignorance.” It is not an abridgement of the preceding edition; the only omission of the slightest consequence, being in the Preface, and one or two other places, where some change and reduction have been rendered necessary by the subsequent conduct of our national authorities, as affecting our speculations and prospects in relation to general education. It is hardly worth adding, that here and there, for the sake of compression, a superfluous word or part of a sentence, or even a whole sentence has been expunged!’

Examination Questions on Butler's Analogy, as abridged and arranged in Hobart's Analysis; together with Brief Answers to the Questions, and a Summary View of the Whole Subject. By George W. Crawford, M.A.

Examination Questions and Answers selected from Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History.

Examination Questions and Answers selected from Burnet on the Thirty Nine Articles. London: John W. Parker.

These three small and neat volumes are primarily designed to aid the Students of Oxford in preparing for the examinations prescribed by that University. They are well suited, however, for a more extensive circulation, and may be adopted with advantage in our own Colleges. We have smiled at some of the opinions expressed, and can scarcely imagine that the books which contain them will find favor with the Heads of Oxford Houses. Take, for instance, the Twenty-seventh Question and Answer on Mosheim. They are as follows: Q. Cite some texts of Scripture which show that the title “Presbyter” and “Bishop,” were synonymous in the primitive church. A. “He sent to Ephesus, and called the *presbyters* of the church,” and he said unto them “Take heed therefore unto yourselves, and to all the flock over the which the Holy Ghost hath made you *overseers*, (ἐπισκοπους), to feed the Church of God, &c.—Acts xx. 17, 28. “For this cause I left thee in Crete, that thou shouldest ordain *elders*, (πρεσβυτερας) in every city: for a *bishop*, (ἐπισκοπον) must be blameless,” &c.

The Miniature Commentary; being Short Comments on every Chapter of the Holy Bible. Three Volumes. London: Religious Tract Society.

Eastern Manners, illustrative of the Old Testament History. By the Rev. Robert Jamieson.

Eastern Manners, illustrative of the New Testament History, as contained in the Gospels. By the same Author. Edinburgh: Oliphant and Son.

Kindred though distinct works, all tending to the same end, and distinguished by similar excellencies. *The Miniature Commentary*, has

already appeared in a larger form : the present reprint will be found an admirable pocket companion. It is well adapted "for the special use of all who desire to 'search the Scripture,' and who have not time or ability to use larger and more costly works. The 'Comments' are mostly taken from our most popular commentaries, especially those of Henry and Scott, but are simplified in their language and structure, so as to be level to the capacity of the youngest and least informed reader.

The other two volumes by the Rev. Robert Jamieson, are designed to furnish an historical illustration of the Inspired Writings drawn from the Manners and Habits of the East. They display extensive research and judicious selection, and are especially adapted to interest juvenile readers. The style in which they are written is somewhat too ambitious, and the sentences employed are occasionally involved and lengthy. These, however, are minor defects, which admit of easy correction, and we shall be glad to find that the volumes obtain an extensive sale.

The Little English Flora ; or, a Botanical and Popular Account of all our Common Field Flowers. With Engravings in Steel of every Species. By G. W. Francis, author of 'Analysis of British Ferns.' London : Simpkin and Marshall,

Amongst the characteristics of botany, as a science, its availableness to all classes of students is one which deserves to be well marked. The almost endless variety of hues, forms, and qualities which the vegetable world presents, cannot but command delight and attention from the most heedless observer ; and hence the wondrous beauties of every leaf and flower unwittingly force upon the understanding a rude generalization—the first elements of science ; whilst to the minds of Aristotle, Linnæus, and philosophers of modern times, the simplest fern affords not merely a worthy problem of Creative skill, but one as humiliating, from its inscrutability, as the most gigantic before which such energies have been confessedly prostrate. We have been led to this remark by the little work now before us, dedicated by its talented and ingenious author 'to the young ladies of England, whose habits, sensibility, and tastes, render the science of botany so peculiarly a proper object of their study.' We beg to recommend botany to all young ladies, not only as a scientific and healthy amusement, but as eminently adapted to store the mind with fitting themes of reflection, and to lead it to Him who has 'painted the lily, and perfumed the violet.' Mr. Francis's little work has our hearty commendation, containing, as it does, at so small a price, a lucid account of all our 'common field flowers,' accompanied with admirable engravings on steel (by himself) of every species.

Lectures on the Evidences of Revealed Religion. By Ministers of the Established Church in Glasgow. Glasgow : W. Collins. 1833.

Fourteen lectures on various points of the Christian evidence, printed in a cheap form for circulation among the humbler classes, by the liberality of some gentlemen, who defrayed the expense of stereotyping them. Their merits are various, but, on the whole highly

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Memoir of the Rev. Alexander Waugh, D.D. With Selections from his Epistolary Correspondence, Pulpit Recollections, &c. By the Rev. JAMES HAY, D.D., and the late Rev. HENRY BELFRAGE, D.D. Third Edition. Edinburgh: William Oliphant and Son.

A neat republication of an invaluable piece of religious biography, printed verbatim from the second edition, and sold at half the price. Dr. Waugh was one of those men, whose nobility of heart sanctified by religious principle, renders his history at once instructive and interesting. His biography is a book which the rising ministry may study with great advantage.

Sacred Poetry. Fourteenth Edition.

Sacred Poetry. Second Series. Edinburgh: Oliphant and Son.

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The Mourner's Friend; or Instruction and Consolation for the Bereaved. Edited by John Brown, D.D. Edinburgh: Oliphant and Son.

The name of the Editor is a sufficient guarantee for the excellence of this little volume, which consists of several tracts specially adapted for the afflicted, culled from the works of Howe, Grosvenor, Edwards, Erskine, and other eminent divines, whose praise is in all our churches.

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